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HAROLD W. BENTLEY, ALLEN WALKER READ



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AMERICAN SPEECH

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CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN FOR FEBRUARY, 1945

¶ B. J. WHITING, whose article on American Wellerisms appears in this issue, is Associate Professor of English in Harvard University. He has published elsewhere a number of articles on the appearance of proverbs in various English and French writers. ¶ A. J. DUNLAP, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Delaware, has been a frequent contributor to *American Speech*. At present, he tells us, his chief undertaking is 'a study of the Dutch, Swedish, and Indian place-names in the early Delaware records.' ¶ BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN is Professor of German in Stanford University. His article, 'The Higher the Better,' was printed in our October, 1941, issue. He writes: 'Through many years of concern with the theory and practice of translation . . . I have had my eyes opened to some of the subtler forms of verbal expression which frequently elude observation. One such set of observations is recorded in the present article.' ¶ JAMES B. McMILLAN, Associate Professor of English in the University of Alabama, has been one of our most enthusiastic collaborators in recent years and is a member of our Advisory Board. His most recent article in *American Speech*, 'Lexical Evidence from Charles Sealsfield,' appeared in our April, 1943, issue. ¶ KATHRYN ANDERSON MCEUEN, Instructor in English in Brooklyn College, is the author of *Classical Influence upon the Tribe of Ben* (1939). This is her first contribution to *American Speech*. ¶ The other three authors whose articles appear in this issue, STEVEN T. BYINGTON, JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN, and DWIGHT L. BOLINGER, are all well known to our readers. Professor Bolinger's article is an outgrowth of his studies in American intonation carried on at Yale University, where he was Sterling Fellow in Linguistics during 1943-1944.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XX

FEBRUARY, 1945

NUMBER 1

AMERICAN WELLERISMS OF THE GOLDEN AGE

B. J. WHITING

Harvard University

ON THE morning of May 23, 1827, the boots of the White Hart in London was engaged in a methodical and self-satisfied performance of his duties. Indeed so methodical was he that he resented a smart chambermaid's request that he make haste to polish the Wellingtons of one particular and impatient guest. He was wont to do things in proper order—and he phrased his philosophy well: 'Reg'lar rotation, as Jack Ketch said, ven he tied the men up.' Later in the morning he found that strangers, two of them plump, were anxious to extract information from him. The offer of half a guinea he well understood, but the exact nature of their quest being obscured by the interruptions of an attorney, the boots was forced to try to straighten the matter out for himself: 'What the devil do you want with me, as the man said ven he seed the ghost?' The result of the inquiry does not concern us, but we must record that a few days later the boots found himself summoned to the lodgings of one of the plump gentlemen and there once more his natural desire for clarity caused him to bring matters to a head: 'Out with it, as the father said to the child, ven he swallowed a farden.'

The scenes which we have just observed are of a great, though placid, importance in literary history, for although sayings of the sort which the boots employed have been coined and circulated since antiquity¹ and are found in English from the time of Bede² to the present day,³ at this very point they received both a name and an immediate rather faddish popularity. Here, indeed, for all the world to see, marvel, and rejoice the great Samuel Weller makes his bow, adorned with sayings of the type so dear to his heart, in the tenth (and twelfth) chapters of *The*

1. See Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pp. 200ff.

2. See Whiting, 'The Earliest Recorded English Wellerism,' *Philological Quarterly*, XV (1936), 310f.

3. See Whiting, 'A Handful of Recent Wellerisms,' *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CLXIX (1936), 71ff.

Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club (1836). Just when the word Wellerism was applied to these sayings it is impossible to state. The *New English Dictionary* first records it from the year 1886, but as early as 1854 we find it in use in America when *Yankee Notions*, a comic journal which still diverts mildly, published a number of 'Phrenological Wellerisms' (III, 142).

In the present article I give a sampling of American Wellerisms from what may fairly be called their Golden Age, the period roughly between 1840 and 1880. The first quotations in the collection show that the Wellerism was by no means uncommon in America before *Pickwick*, and, indeed, was later sometimes considered peculiarly American. Here again we may quote *Yankee Notions*, which, two years before it made use of 'Wellerism,' labelled a group of similar sayings 'Yankee-isms' (I [1852], 78). Although the Wellerism flourished in America, it cannot be said that it maintained the high level of earlier times. The true Wellerism is likely to combine saying with story, and, as Professor Taylor says, it 'describes a scene with such vividness that it is clearly brought home to us, although we may not be able to catch the full implications' (p. 213). In addition we are likely to believe in the existence of the individual who plays a rôle in the saying. In the hands of the American journalists, who were among the most prolific coiners of Wellerisms the world has ever known, all this changed and what we find is an exploitation of current notions and truly shocking puns and distortions of popular phrases and catchwords. Indeed Wellerisms, even so small a number as those given here, afford a notable commentary on the swiftly changing American life of the mid-nineteenth century. Nothing could illustrate this better than the 'Phrenological Wellerisms' to which I have already referred:

Amativeness.—Sweet food and fruits of early love, as the boy said to the almonds and raisins.

Philoprogenitiveness.—What blessings children are! as the clerk said when he took the fees for christening them.

Adhesiveness.—You stick to me like true friends, as the man said to the tar and feathers after he had been lynched.

Inhabitiveness.—Home, sweet home! as the vagrant said when he was sent to prison for the third time.

Concentrativeness.—I see the whole of your disorder, as the cobbler said to the boot that was worn out and wanted patching.

Combativeness.—We've both had many a brush in our day, as the old sailor said to his cocked hat.

Destructiveness.—It's a to-e-tal loss, as the sailor said when the shark bit his leg off.

Alimentiveness.—We're both matters of taste, as the gingerbread said to the fine picture.

Secretiveness.—I'll hide you where nobody can find you, as the school-master said when he took the truant into the cellar to larrup him.

Cautiousness.—I'll ratify it, after I put my concluding claws to it, as the cat said when she was watching the mouse.

Approbateness.—We've come off with flying colors, as the ensign said when he ran from the enemy.

Self-Esteem.—Industry must prosper, as the pickpocket said when he stole three handkerchiefs before breakfast.

Firmness.—The more you drive me, the firmer I am fixed, as the nail said to the hammer.

Conscientiousness.—I shall prevent the use of ardent spirits, as the inn-keeper said when he watered the liquors.

Marvellousness.—Shouldn't wonder if that made my head ache! as the sailor said when the cannon-ball smashed his skull.

Veneration.—All the world looks up to me, as the thief said when he stood in the pillory.

Benevolence.—I leave you the bulk of my personal property, as the fat old gentleman said to his lean nephew.

Constructiveness.—I'll do it for you with pleasure, as the carpenter said when the hangman asked him to make a gallows.

Ideality.—I'll banquet on the smiles of love, as the hungry poet said when he thought of his mistress about dinner-time.

Imitation.—I'll follow in your footsteps, as one thief said to another when he spelled him on the treadmill.

Mirthfulness.—I'll die laughing, as the ticklish man said when the sheriff was fixing the rope round his neck to hang him.

Individuality.—This is a personal remark, as the prisoner said when the judge told him to hold out his right hand.⁴

As the Wellerism became a chief component in the stock-in-trade of the conductors, or fillers, of newspaper columns, puns and word play reached a frantic virtuosity which must be read to be believed. Editors vied with one another in maltreating the harmless and helpless phrase. Consider the following battle, waged as furiously as press and postal system would permit, and preserved for us by the highly eclectic *Wit and Wisdom*:

I'll pass the butter, as the fellow said to himself as he shied around a ram in the pasture lot (*Kokomo Tribune*).

I'll butt the passer, as the ram remarked, at the same time executing a flank movement on the luckless wight (*Cambridge Tribune* [WW, Mar. 10, 1881, p. 15]).

I'll buss the patter, as the young lady said to the man who patted her on the cheek (*Syracuse Sunday Times*).

I'll pat the busser, as the young lady said when she boxed the young man's jaw (*Steubenville News*).

4. *Yankee Notions*, III (1854), 142; at least some of these were older, as Alimentiveness, Approbateness, and Conscientiousness had appeared in *The Spirit of the Times*, X (1840), 145.

I'll puss the batter, as the kitten said when it flung itself into the buck-wheat conglomeration prepared for the morning meal (*Modern Argo* [WW, Apr. 21, 1881, p 8]).

I'll bat the puss, sir, the cook said when striking with the poker (WW, Apr. 21, 1881, p. 9).

The ensuing Wellerisms, mere drops from the ocean, are arranged chronologically. They are drawn from relatively few sources, and of these *Wit and Wisdom* is one of the most valuable, since its wholesale purloinings give us specimens from the entire country. At the end are found a few more modern examples, cast in antique and colloquial form, from M. D. Graves's *Bubblin's an' B'ilin's at the Center*.⁵ At one point Mr. Graves describes a scene which, though he did not choose to treat it in that way, may be considered typical of the birth of a popular Wellerism. Seth has the hose turned on him:

'What in thunder d'ye think you're doin'?' says Seth . . .

'Doin'?' says Bill, 'Why, we're only playin'—playin' the hose!'

'Like Tim's hoss, ye be!' says Seth, all dander an' bristles. I s'pose Seth was referrin' to a chestnut hoss Tim Taylor once owned that was a striker and a biter. Tryin' to sell him one time, the hoss lay back his ears an' begin to turn tail fur kickin'. 'See him play!' says Tim—'See him play!' (p. 91).

The list of Wellerisms follows:

No more heart, as the Nigger said, than stick your head in the fire; and pull 'um out, agin ([John Neal], *Brother Jonathan* [Edinburgh, 1825], I, 144).

Not bigger; darn me, if 'tis, than the leetle eend—o' nothin'—sharpened; as the Irishman said (*The same*, I, 145).

No more of a branch, I wow, than a toad wants a tail, as the nigger said (*The same*, II, 26).

In short, sir, as the Irishman said—in short, sir—there is policy in war (*The same*, II, 97).

Take it altogether—inside an' out, as the nigger said (John Neal, *The Down-Easters* [New York, 1833], I, 47).

Why, you look as *naiteral*, as the nigger said (*The same*, I, 59).

Well, then, you-go-to-hell! as the Frenchman said (*The same*, I, 97).

There now!—see there!—didn't I tell ye so, as the old woman said, when the hog eet the grinstone, hurray! (*The same*, I, 118).

Nice putty stars, but lord you, as the gal said to her feller, if you could only see the bunch that's right over our front door (*The same*, I, 135).

There now! it's all gut to be strained over agin! as the old woman said when the dog p—d in her milk-pan (*The same*, I, 135).

So here goes, as the boy said when he run by himself (*A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett—Written by Himself*, sixth edition [Philadelphia, 1834], p. 174).

5. Rutland, Vermont, 1934.

He becomes fond of the (*bear*) meat, and considers other game as 'not worth a notice,' as old Johnson said of the devil (*The same*, p. 182).

That's sufficient, as Tom Haynes said when he saw the elephant (A. B. Longstreet, 'Georgia Theatrics' [1835], in F. J. Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest* [New York, 1930], p. 339; *Colonel Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* [Philadelphia, 1836], p. 35).

One glance satisfied me that there was no time to be lost, as Pat thought when falling from a church steeple, and exclaimed, 'This would be mighty pleasant, now, if it would only last' (*Colonel Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* [Philadelphia, 1836], p. 153).

'How are you?' 'Pretty much at random, sir, as Frank Duffy said when he slept in the big tavern' (*The Spirit of the Times*, X [1840], 8).

The more you drive the firmer I am fixed, as the nail said to the hammer (*ST*, X [1840], 193).

You sing through your nose, as the man said to his tea-kettle (*ST*, X [1840], 207).

We are going very fast, as the man in a consumption said to the locomotive (*ST*, X [1840], 207).

Too much bile in my stomach, as the tea-kettle said when hanging over a hot fire (*ST*, X [1840], 221).

Wal, here it comes, for better or for *wus*, as minister said to uncle Josh. Hills when he married him to Aunt Sally Fox, at the age of sixty-five (*ST*, X [1840], 229).

Every man for himself, as the Jackass said when he stamped among the young turkies (*ST*, X [1840], 230).

I guess he'll re-wive, as the gentleman said when his friend fainted away at his wife's funeral (*ST*, X [1840], 231).

I see thee, *knot*, as the culprit on the scaffold said to the rope (*ST*, X [1840], 262).

Ah, sure enough . . . that *mout* be a bee, as the old woman said when she killed a wasp ([A. B. Longstreet], *Georgia Scenes* [1840], [New York, 1851], p. 197).

It's hurray, brother John, every fire a turkey, as the boy said (J. J. Hooper, *Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs* [Philadelphia, 1845], p. 58).

You know 'a bad beginnin' makes a good endin'' as the old woman said ([W. T. Thompson], *Major Jones' Georgia Scenes* [Philadelphia, 1848], p. 168).

Howsomedever, what can't be cured must be indured, as the feller said when the monkey bit him (*The same*, p. 178).

Love thy neighbour, as the parson said to the man who lived next door to the pigsty (*Yankee Notions*, I [1852], 9).

'Tis false! as the girl said when her beau told her she had beautiful hair (*YN*, I [1852], 9).

I'm a victim to an artificial state of society, as the monkey said when they put trowsers on him (*YN*, I [1852], 9).

I'm *boarding out*, as the loafer said when he curled up for the night on a pile of lumber (*YN*, I [1852], 9).

Hard times! and we must make the most of what little we have, as the grocer said when he watered the vinegar (*YN*, I [1852], 9).

Short visits are best, as the fly said when he lit on the hot stove (YN, I [1852], 29).

I'll not cover your heel, I'll be darned if I do, as the ragged stocking said to the novel-reading lady (YN, I [1852], 71).

Stirring times, as the hasty-pudding said to the pudding-stick (YN, I [1852], 71).

I give thee awl, as the cobbler said to the old shoe (YN, I [1852], 71).

Terrible pressure in the money market, as the mouse said when the keg of specie rolled over him (YN, I [1852], 71).

Hard Times, and we must make the most of what little we have—as the grocer said when he sanded the sugar and watered the rum (YN, I [1852], 75).

If you bite me, I'll bite you, as the pepper-pod said to the boy (YN, I [1852], 78).

I am in a *grate scrape*, as the nutmeg agonizingly said to the scraper (YN, I [1852], 88).

I've lost flesh lately, as the butcher said when he sold a quarter of beef to a bad customer (YN, I [1852], 209).

Business before pleasure, as the man said when he kissed his wife before he went out to make love to his neighbour's (YN, I [1852], 221).

I'm particularly uneasy on this point, as the fly said when the young gentleman stuck him on the end of a needle (YN, I [1852], 223).

I blush for you, as the rouge-pot said to the lady (YN, I [1852], 224).

Don't get above your business, as the lady said to the shoemaker who was measuring her ankle in order to ascertain the size of her foot (YN, I [1852], 241).

I've buried my best friend, as the undertaker said when he buried the quack doctor (YN, I [1852], 244).

I shall hereby prevent the use of ardent spirits, as the grocer said when he watered his rum (YN, I [1852], 262).

Go it, porkey—root, hog, or d-i-e! as Shakapeel said when Caesar stabbed him in the House of Representatives (YN, I [1852], 272).

I was aout on a time, marm, and I didn't care a darn whether school kept or not, as the boy said to his boss (YN, I [1852], 354).

Those dear eyes of thine, as the man said when he bought his wife a pair of five dollar spectacles (YN, II [1853], 10).

If I am 'stuck up,' I ain't proud, said the beetle, when he was pinned to the wall (YN, II [1853], 28).

I'm sitting on the style, Mary, as the man said when he sat down on his wife's new bonnet (YN, II [1853], 88).

A lass I am no more, as the girl said when she was married (YN, II [1853], 249).

It isn't the size of the present that gives it its value, as the gentleman said when his wife gave him four boys at a birth (YN, II [1853], 262).

I guess there an't much gammon about this, as the Yankee said when he tried a slice of wooden ham (YN, II [1853], 286).

My tale is ended, as the tadpole said when he turned into a frog (YN, III [1854], 5).

Mine Got! vat vill de Frenchman make next? as the Dutchman said the first time he saw a monkey (YN, III [1854], 103).

I have very little respect for the ties of this world, as the chap said when the rope was put around his neck (YN, III [1854], 122).

I'm going to draw this beau into a knot, as the lady said when about to be married (YN, III [1854], 235).

I see through it now, as the maid servant said when she knocked the bottom out of the pail (YN, IV [1855], 39).

The victory is not always to the strong, as the boy said when he killed a skunk with a brickbat (YN, IV [1855], 176).

Where there's a will there's a whey, as the nurse said when she put the saucepan of pure (?) Orange County milk on the fire. Deluded woman (YN, V [1856], 106).

Old age is coming upon me rapidly, as the urchin said when he was stealing apples from an old man's garden, and saw the owner coming furiously, with a cowhide in his hand (YN, V [1856], 181).

'Well, it can't be helped now,' I reflected.

'—As the monkey said when he fell out of the cocoa-nut tree,' added Charley Marden trying to make me laugh (T. B. Aldrich, *The Story of a Bad Boy* [1869], [Boston, 1911], pp. 113f.).

I'm laying for you, as the old hen remarked, with a quiet cackle, to the hen-roost bandit (*The New Varieties*, Jan. 9, 1871, p. 11).

So much for bucking 'em, as the young man said when he fought the tiger (NV, Jan. 30, 1871, p. 5).

If we can't hear it, it ain't from the lack of ears, as the ass said to the cornfield (NV, Mar. 6, 1871, p. 11).

Mind your eye, as the thread said to the needle (NV, May 22, 1871, p. 11).

How hot you are, as the roast beef said to the horse radish (NV, May 22, 1871, p. 11).

I'm ready to go off by the train, as the barrel of gunpowder said to Guy Faux (NV, May 22, 1871, p. 11).

I'm down on you, as the feather said to the goose (*Philadelphia Sun* [Wit and Wisdom, Feb. 10, 1881, p. 7]).

Go, father, and fare worse, as the son said to the old man sent to jail for wife beating (*Richmond Baton* [WW, Feb. 10, 1881, p. 15]).

I have pryer claims to your property, as the burglar said when he entered the house with a jimmy (*Marathon Independent* [WW, Feb. 17, 1881, p. 16]).

I am just throwing out a feeler, remarked the saloon keeper, as he put the blind man into the street (*Indianapolis Saturday Review* [WW, Mar. 3, 1881, p. 7]).

I was down once myself, remarked a feather in a lady's hat, when it saw her take a seat on the icy pavement (*Steubenville Herald* [WW, Mar. 3, 1881, p. 16]).

As men grow older they grow Weisser, said the saloon keeper, when his grandfather called for a glass of Berlin beer (*New York News* [WW, Mar. 10, 1881, p. 16]).

We are not what we seam, as the sewing-machine said to the needle (*Peck's Sun* [WW, Mar. 24, 1881, p. 15]).

This is very like a whale, as the schoolboy said when he received a merited castigation from the teacher (*Somerville Journal* [WW, Mar. 24, 1881, p. 16]).

- Just keep Mum, as the fellow said to the keeper of the poorhouse, when he left his maternal parent at that institution (Yawcob Strauss [*WW*, Mar. 31, 1881, p. 15]).
- Ruler ruin, as the boy said when he threw the teacher's ferule into the stove (*Syracuse Sunday Times* [*WW*, Mar. 31, 1881, p. 16]).
- That's a fur-gone conclusion, as the fox said when he lost his tail in a trap (*Marathon Independent* [*WW*, Apr. 21, 1881, p. 15]).
- I haven't tasted a drop in the last ten years, as the tramp said when the serving-maid tendered him a glass of water (*Saint Louis Spirit* [*WW*, May 12, 1881, p. 7]).
- Love lightens labor, as the man said when he saw his wife doing his work for him (*WW*, May 12, 1881, p. 8).
- The principle of the thing is what I care for, as a creditor said to a debtor whose note he held (*Webster Times* [*WW*, May 12, 1881, p. 16]).
- There's nose sorrow there, as the fellow said, who had a severe cold (*Marathon Independent* [*WW*, May 19, 1881, p. 16]).
- What I sediment, as the river murmured during high water (*Keokuk Gate City* [*WW*, May 19, 1881, p. 16]).
- De lays are dangerous, as the unpopular orator remarked when the eggs began to fly (*WW*, June 2, 1881, p. 8).
- This is brief and to the point, as the man remarked when he got up off a tack (*Keokuk Gate City* [*WW*, June 2, 1881, p. 16]).
- Let's shake, as ague said to the earthquake (Erratic Enrique [*WW*, June 2, 1881, p. 16]).
- I'm only indulging in a drop of the cratur, as the Irishman said when he knocked his wife down for 'sassing' him (*Somerville Journal* [*WW*, June 9, 1881, p. 16]).
- It beats all, as the Yankee shoemaker said when he saw the pegging machine at work (*Cambridge Tribune* [*WW*, June 16, 1881, p. 15]).
- That alters the case, as the watchmaker said when he galvanized a brass watch (*Keokuk Constitution* [*WW*, June 16, 1881, p. 16]).
- Where there's swill there's a way, as the hog said when he rooted the back gate off its hinges to come at the kitchen swill barrel (*McGregor (Ia.) News* [*WW*, July 14, 1881, p. 16]).
- I'm laboring under a false impression, as the die said to the counterfeiter (Erratic Enrique [*WW*, July 14, 1881, p. 16]).
- That butter is too fresh, as the man remarked when the goat lifted him over the garden fence (*Lowell Citizen* [*WW*, Aug. 4, 1881, p. 15]).
- Come, that's blayed-out, as the Dutchman said to a fellow who made a lunge at him with an open knife (*Philadelphia Item* [*WW*, Aug. 4, 1881, p. 16]).
- It's 'swarm day for all of us, the farmer remarked, as he mopped his face and found his bees ready for flight (*WW*, Aug. 11, 1881, p. 8).
- This is a fit time and place, as the mad dog said when he saw the river (*Burlington Hawkeye* [*WW*, Aug. 11, 1881, p. 15]).
- In fancy bred, sang the fly, as he waded through the sponge cake dough (*Cincinnati Musical People* [*WW*, Aug. 11, 1881, p. 16]).
- Let me kiss him for his smother, as the expiring Desdemona spoke of the jealous Moor (*New York News* [*WW*, Aug. 18, 1881, p. 16]).

You won't suit me at all, as the man said to the tailor who refused him credit (*New York News* [WW, Sept. 8, 1881, p. 5]).

Oh! leaf me not, as the book said to the student (*Philadelphia Herald* [WW, Sept. 15, 1881, p. 7]).

You have scent for me and I am here, as the mustard remarked to the Limburger cheese.

Spread yourself if you're strong enough, growled the cheese (*Keokuk Gate City* [WW, Oct. 6, 1881, p. 16]).

I am dressed to kill, as the recruit said when he donned his uniform (*Cambridge Tribune* [WW, Nov. 10, 1881, p. 16]).

One for us tew an' one for you tew, 's the Irishman said when he was dividin' the four dollars 'twixt him self an' his tew frinds (Rowland E. Robinson, *Uncle Lisha's Shop* [New York, 1887], p. 60).

Everybody to their notion, 's the ol' woman said when she kissed her kyow (*The same*, p. 139).

That isn't the point, as the man said to the assassin who tried to stab him with the hilt of a dagger (J. K. Bangs, *A House-Boat on the Styx* [New York, 1896], p. 60).

'Twa'n't long, as the old lady said when they saved her from drowning (M. D. Graves, *Bubblin's an' B'ilin's at the Center* [Rutland, Vermont, 1934], p. 77).

Course one thing leads to another, as the old lady said when she pulled on her woolen stockin's (*The same*, p. 92).

Last but not least, as the old lady said when she kissed the cow (*The same*, p. 95).

But o' course it might be a bee fur all that, as the old lady said when she looked inter the hornets nest fur honey (*The same*, p. 98; see p. 7 above).

Howsomever and at any rate, be that as it may—as the old lady said when she dropped her false teeth in the well (*The same*, p. 105).

'Twa'n't long, though, as the feller said arter the weddin' ceremony (*The same*, p. 206).

'Twa'n't no time, as the old maid said when she was kissed (*The same*, p. 208).

OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COLLOQUIAL IDIOM

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SOME of the idioms considered in this article have been discussed before in the pages of *American Speech*; the others, it seems to me, are equally deserving of attention.

Except for a few college graduates, whose numbers in the list below appear in italics, the informants are recent high school graduates—for the most part, members of my classes during the past twelve months.

LIST OF INFORMANTS

ALABAMA: 1 Florence, 2 Talladega; ALBERTA: 3 Calgary; ARIZONA: 4 Clifton, 5 Douglas; CALIFORNIA: 6 Chico, 7 Fresno, 8 Los Angeles, 9 San Marino, 10 Turlock; COLORADO: 11 Denver; CONNECTICUT: 12 Avon, 13 Waterford; DELAWARE: 14 15 Dover, 16 Georgetown, 17 Marshallton, 18 Milford, 19 20 21 22 Newark, 23 New Castle, 24 Smyrna, 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 Wilmington; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: 40 41 Washington; FLORIDA: 42 Daytona Beach; GEORGIA: 43 Atlanta, 44 Decatur, 45 East Point, 46 Rome; IDAHO: 47 Boise; ILLINOIS: 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 Chicago, 56 Harvey, 57 Highland Park, 58 Joy, 59 Maywood, 60 Rosiclare; INDIANA: 61 Evansville, 62 Lawrenceburg, 63 Newberry; IOWA: 64 Atlantic, 65 Cedar Rapids, 66 Sioux City, 67 Waterloo, 68 Webster City; KANSAS: 69 Muncie, 70 Wichita, 71 Winfield; KENTUCKY: 72 Bowling Green, 73 Louisville, 74 75 Winchester; LOUISIANA: 76 Shreveport; MAINE: 77 Portland, 78 Stonington; MARYLAND: 79 80 Baltimore, 81 Edgewood, 82 Elk Mills, 83 Elkton, 84 Perryville; MASSACHUSETTS: 85 Brockton, 86 87 Cambridge, 88 Haverhill, 89 Mattapan, 90 Melrose, 91 North Hatfield, 92 Waltham, 93 94 Worcester; MICHIGAN: 95 Almont, 96 97 98 Detroit, 99 Holland, 100 Jackson, 101 Lansing, 102 Pontiac, 103 Quincy; MINNESOTA: 104 Balaton, 105 Duluth, 106 Milaca, 107 Minneapolis, 108 Owatonna; MISSOURI: 109 Bucklin, 110 New Boston, 111 St. Louis; NEBRASKA: 112 Falls City; NEW HAMPSHIRE: 113 Newport, 114 North Weare; NEW JERSEY: 115 Atlantic City, 116 Chatham, 117 Kenil, 118 Rochelle Park, 119 Trenton, 120 Union City, 121 West New York, 122 West Orange; NEW MEXICO: 123 Roswell; NEW YORK: 124 Flushing, 125 Franklinville, 126 Garden City, 127 Glendale, 128 Ilion, 129 Liberty, 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 New York City, 148 Norwich, 149 Orchard Park, 150 Pawling, 151 Peekskill, 152 Pleasantville, 153 Queens Village, 154 Spring Valley,

155 Troy, 156 Waverly, 157 Woodmere; NORTH CAROLINA: 158 Durham, 159 Greensboro, 160 Raleigh, 161 Rocky Mount, 162 Saint Pauls, 163 Sanatorium, 164 Wilmington; NORTH DAKOTA: 165 Grand Forks, 166 La Moure, 167 Northwood, 168 Petersburg; NOVA SCOTIA: 169 Truro; OHIO: 170 Bexley, 171 172 173 Cincinnati, 174 175 Cleveland, 176 Euclid, 177 Hamilton, 178 Lorain, 179 Niles, 180 Painesville, 181 Ravenna, 182 Tippecanoe City, 183 Urbana, 184 Washington Court House, 185 Youngstown; OKLAHOMA: 186 Enid, 187 Holdenville, 188 Newcastle; ONTARIO: 189 Cobourg; OREGON: 190 Eugene, 191 192 Portland; PENNSYLVANIA: 193 Beaver Falls, 194 Bethlehem, 195 Daisytown, 196 East Brady, 197 Erie, 198 Germantown, 199 Holmes, 200 Lock Haven, 201 202 203 204 205 206 Philadelphia, 207 208 209 Pittsburgh, 210 Punxsutawney, 211 Ridley Park, 212 Rochester, 213 Wilkes-Barre; RHODE ISLAND: 214 West Kingston; SOUTH DAKOTA: 215 Aberdeen; TENNESSEE: 216 Knoxville, 217 Memphis, 218 219 Nashville, 220 Puryear; TEXAS: 221 Dallas, 222 Elgin,¹ 223 Hale Center, 224 San Antonio; UTAH: 225 Ogden, 226 227 228 Salt Lake City; VERMONT: 229 Lunenburg, 230 Norwich; VIRGINIA: 231 Cuckoo, 232 Franktown, 233 Fredericksburg, 234 Norfolk, 235 Portsmouth, 236 Richlands; WASHINGTON: 237 Ellensburg, 238 Seattle, 239 Spokane; WEST VIRGINIA: 240 Branchland, 241 Buckhannon; WISCONSIN: 242 Cedarburg, 243 Edgerton, 244 Milladore, 245 246 247 Milwaukee, 248 Pelican Lake, 249 Racine; WYOMING: 250 Greybull.²

1. 'ANY MORE'

The phrase *any more* is used adverbially in negative, interrogative, or hypothetical contexts to mean 'in repetition or continuance of what has taken place up to a particular time; further, longer, again';³ for example, 'My employer never asks me to do that kind of work any more.' 'Does your employer ever ask you to do that kind of work any more?' 'If my employer ever asks me to do that kind of work any more, I'll start to look for another job.'

The parallel use of *any more* in contexts that are positive, non-interrogative, and non-hypothetical, as in 'My employer always asks me to do that kind of work any more,'⁴ a use which occurs on the colloquial level,⁵

1. Informant's comment: 'Pronounced ['elgin].'

2. Arkansas, British Columbia, Manitoba, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Saskatchewan, and South Carolina are not represented in this list.

3. *NED*, s.v. *more* (adv.), C. 4.a.

4. An easy development from the question 'Does your employer ever ask you to do that kind of work any more?' But cf. Malone, *AS* 6: 460 (also Krumpelmann, *AS* 14: 156).

5. The following quotations are from student papers: (1) 'But when she attempts

has already been reported in the pages of *American Speech*, from the following areas (or places): Dewitt Co., Illinois; sth. Illinois; Greene Co., Iowa; Maryland; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Nebraska; Elmira, New York; Trumbull Co., Ohio; sw. Ontario; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; South Carolina; and West Virginia.⁶ Of the informants listed above, the following indicated that this idiom occurs in the informal speech of their home speech areas: Arizona 4, California 7,⁷ Delaware 14 19 20 21 22 23 25 27 28 29 31 34 35 36 37, Illinois 60, Indiana 61⁸ 62 63, Iowa 68, Maryland 82 83, Michigan 100,⁹ Minnesota 106, Missouri 109 110, Nebraska 112, New Jersey 116 119, New York 129 150 156, Ohio 176¹⁰ 184 185,¹¹ Oklahoma 187, Pennsylvania 193 203 204 206 208 211 212 213, Texas 222,¹² Virginia 236, Washington 239, West Virginia 240 241; the following said that they had heard it outside their home speech areas: Colorado 11 (in eastern U. S.), Connecticut 13 (in New Castle Co., Del.), Delaware 18 (in New Castle Co., Del.) 24 (in New Castle Co., Del.), District of Columbia 41 (in Ala., Ark., Okla., Tenn., Tex., West Va.), Illinois 49 (in New Castle Co., Del., and in cent. Ind.) 56 (in Ark.) 58 (in rural and sth. Ill.), Indiana 62 (in Ark.), Iowa 65 (in east and sth. U. S.), Kansas 70 (in New Castle Co., Del.), Kentucky 75 (in Nebr.), Maine 77 (in New Castle Co., Del.) 78 (in New Castle Co., Del.), Massachusetts 92 (in Ark.), New Jersey 115 (in Reading, Pa.) 117 (in New Castle Co., Del.), New York 153 (in Ohio), North Dakota 168 (in N. Car. and other sth. states), Ohio 180 (in Fla.) 185 (in Minn.), Oklahoma 188 (in Miss.), Pennsylvania 196 (in Va.) 198 (in New Castle Co., Del.) 202 (in Harrisburg, Pa.), Tennessee 218 (in Ill.) 219 (in Iowa), Texas 221 (in Pa. and N. Y.), Vermont 229 (in New Castle Co., Del.); and the rest marked it unfamiliar. Professor I. W. Russell's opinion that 'this colloquial idiom is fairly widespread [in America]'¹³ is thus borne out by these data.

The evidence just presented may be analyzed as follows: (1) Although

to relate a joke, she always forgets the end; her friends and family have come to expect it any more'—by a student from Wilmington, Delaware; (2) 'Anymore, when I feel myself relying too much on imagination for pleasure, I find something to do'—by a student from Washington Court House, Ohio. For evidence of the existence of this construction on the dialectal level, see *The English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *any*, where the following citation from the north of Ireland appears: 'A servant being instructed how to act, will answer "I will do it any more."'

6. See *AS* 16: 19, and add to the references there *AS* 18: 141, 152; *AS* 19: 39.

7. Informant's comment: 'Juvenile expression.'

8. 61's mother, from Medicine Court, Kansas, always frowned upon this construction as a Hoosierism.

9. 'Especially among aunts and uncles.'

10. 'A German family in our area uses it.'

11. 'Uneducated speech.'

12. 222's father came from Indiana.

13. *AS* 16: 18.

the *any more* colloquialism is not unknown in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain areas, it is anything but prevalent there. (2) In the North Central area the idiom seems to be most common in southern Illinois and southern Indiana but turns up in some parts of all other states except the Dakotas, Kansas, and Wisconsin. It has also been observed in southwestern Ontario. (3) In the Southern area, the positive evidence for Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, and North Carolina is somewhat tenuous, and the evidence for Kentucky, Georgia, and Louisiana is negative; but there can be no question about the presence of the idiom in Virginia, West Virginia, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. (4) In the Middle Atlantic area the idiom is fairly well known, except possibly in the District of Columbia and in the Delmarva peninsula. The northernmost county of Delaware, together with the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland, seems to be a focal point. (5) In New York City, Long Island, the New England states, and Nova Scotia the idiom apparently is not in use.

Further evidence may show that this *any more* construction came into the Middle Atlantic area with the Ulster migrations,¹⁴ and from there moved inland and down the mountain valleys to the South, and later westward along the Ohio River valley.

2. 'AT ALL'

The adverbial phrase *at all*, commonly used now in negative or interrogative sentences and in conditional clauses, was formerly used affirmatively to mean 'absolutely, altogether, wholly.'¹⁵ This affirmative use, although it has disappeared from speech at the formal level, lives on in Irish dialect¹⁶ and in colloquial speech in certain parts of America, especially after a superlative, as in the sentence 'We had the best time at all.' It has already been reported from Indiana,¹⁷ Louisiana,¹⁸ Lynchburg, Virginia,¹⁹ and West Virginia.²⁰ Of my informants, the following said that this idiom occurs in their home speech areas: Georgia 44 46, Kentucky 72 74,²¹ North Carolina 158 161, Oklahoma 187; and the following had heard it outside their home speech areas: California 10 (in Okla.), Delaware 16 (uncertain of area), Georgia 45 (in the Midwest), Maryland 82 (in the South), New York 139 (uncertain of area), Penn-

14. Cf. fn. 5 above, and see Baugh, *A History of the English Language*, p. 417f.

15. *NED*, s.v. *all*, 9b (the earliest citation is dated c.1350).

16. *EDD*, s.v. *at*, VI.(1).

17. *AS* 17: 130.

18. *Dialect Notes* 4: 302.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *AS* 11: 63.

21. 'Very familiar.'

sylvania 203 (in Miss.), Texas 222 (uncertain of area). To the rest it was unfamiliar. On the strength of this evidence it is possible to conclude that the *at all* colloquialism is found with some frequency in the Southern area, and occasionally in the North Central area; elsewhere it does not seem to occur.

3. 'CONSIDERABLY INEXPENSIVE'

Considerable as an intensive, as in the phrase 'considerable odd,'²² is a recognized feature of sub-standard speech in America.²³ Professor Fries points out that after such an idiom has become established there is, especially on the standard level, a tendency growing out of the pressure of the word order pattern to add an *-ly* ending to such 'adverbs' of degree;²⁴ the result is well illustrated in a sentence from the unaffected speech of college students: 'These gloves are considerably inexpensive.'

When the informants were asked about the appearance of such an idiom in the informal speech of their home speech areas, the following indicated their familiarity with it: Colorado 11, Delaware 17 18 21 22 23 26 34 37 39, Georgia 45 46, Idaho 47, Illinois 55 60, Indiana 62, Iowa 67, Maine 77 78, Maryland 80, Massachusetts 91 93, Michigan 96 97 100 102 103, Minnesota 107, Missouri 110 111, Nebraska 112, New Jersey 115 118 119 121, New Mexico 123, New York 125 127 128 133 139 144 145 146 147 151 152 153, North Carolina 158 162 163, North Dakota 167, Ohio 174 175 176 179 184, Oklahoma 188, Oregon 192, Pennsylvania 195 199 203 205 211 212 213, Tennessee 216 217²⁵ 220, Texas 223 224, Utah 226, Vermont 229, Virginia 232 234, Washington 237 239, Wisconsin 245 249; the following had heard it outside their own speech areas: Arizona 5 (in Okla.), California 8 (in N. Car.), District of Columbia 40 (in the West), Illinois 54 (in Minn.), Iowa 66 (in Ark. and Okla.), Maryland 81 (in Ark.), Massachusetts 85 (in Del.), New York 142 (in N. Mex.) 154 (in the South) 155 (in Texas), North Dakota 165 (in N. Car.), Ohio 181 (in Ark.) 185 (in Minn.), Pennsylvania 200 (in Del.), Utah 227 (in La.) 228 (in La.); to the rest it was unfamiliar. This evidence shows that the idiom is current colloquially in all the larger divisions of the American speech area.

22. One of the examples of 'debased' American idiom recorded by F. Marryat, *A Diary in America* (1839), p. 149. For the development of such intensives see Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, 2: 366ff.

23. Cf. R. H. Thornton, *An American Glossary*, vol. 3; the *NED* citation from Haliburton (1843); and *DN* 3: 6, 3: 184, 3: 210.

24. C. C. Fries, *American English Grammar*, pp. 203-204.

25. 'Among Negroes.'

4. 'TO GRADUATE COLLEGE'

Instead of the standard idiom *to graduate from college*, colloquial speakers sometimes use the telescoped construction *to graduate college*, as in 'My friend graduated college last year.'²⁶ Among the informants who were questioned about the presence of this idiom in the informal speech of their home speech areas,²⁷ the following indicated their familiarity with it: California 10, Illinois 53 55, Kansas 71, Maryland 80, Nebraska 112, New Jersey 118 121 122, New York 129 131 132 133 134 135 140 141 142 143 145 146 147 151 154 157, Pennsylvania 194 195 197 201 203 204 205 213, Wisconsin 247; the following had heard it outside their home speech areas: Illinois 54 (in N. Y.), Maryland 81 (in Tenn.), Massachusetts 85 (in Del.), New York 153 (in the East), Texas 223 (in N. Y.), Utah 228 (in the East), Wisconsin 248 (in e. Tex.); to the rest it was unfamiliar. This evidence shows that *to graduate college* is more common in the Middle Atlantic area than elsewhere and that its appearance is largely confined to cities like New York and Philadelphia.²⁸

5. 'HAPPEN YOU'

The *NED* marks the once common use of *happen* with an indirect object as obsolete or dialectal,²⁹ the last citation, 'No harm shall happen you,' being dated 1815. That this construction has not yet wholly given ground in America to the more usual phrase *happen to you* is shown by the fact that the following informants were familiar with it: Delaware 37,³⁰ Illinois 60, Indiana 63, Minnesota 104, North Carolina 162, Nova Scotia 169, Ohio 176, and Wisconsin 246. In addition, Idaho 47 had

26. Cf. the idiom *to operate a patient*, which is discussed in *AS* 5: 287-289. Here is a recent example, from the Science Section of the *New York Times* of April 30, 1944: 'Frogs operated in the third series did not behave in any way differently from unoperated frogs.'

27. About one-fourth of the group did not participate—as follows: California 7, Delaware 15 18 19 20 21 23 25 26 27 28 29 31 32 33 34 36 37 38 39, District of Columbia 40 41, Illinois 52 57 59, Iowa 64, Maine 78, Maryland 79 83, Massachusetts 94, Michigan 99 100, Minnesota 104 105 106, New Hampshire 114, New Jersey 116 120, New York 130 137 139 149, Ohio 170 171 174 177, Oklahoma 186 187, Oregon 190 191, Pennsylvania 198 199 202, South Dakota 215, Tennessee 217, Virginia 233, Wisconsin 244, Wyoming 250.

28. The informants who were questioned about this idiom were also asked to indicate their preference for (1) 'I was graduated from college last year' or (2) 'I graduated from college last year.' The results of this poll are as follows: for (1), 11%; for (2), 83.8%; for either, 5.2%. The standing of these idioms was discussed a generation ago by J. Lesslie Hall in *English Usage*, p. 113. For an explanation of the trend toward (2) see G. O. Curme, *Syntax*, p. 440.

29. The *EDD* has citations from Scotland and the northern part of England.

30. 'Infrequent.'

heard it in Texas, New York 139 in Missouri, and Utah 228 in Louisiana.³¹

To judge by my personal experience, the area in which *happen* with an indirect object has the greatest currency today is Nova Scotia. It was interesting, in this connection, to learn that Utah 228 was familiar with the idiom in the speech of the Cajuns in Louisiana.

6. 'LIKE FOR'

The verbal phrase *like for* followed by an infinitive and its subject, as in the sentence 'We'd like for you to visit us,' is, according to Professor Russell, 'the habitual idiom for any Southerner in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and probably elsewhere in the South.'³² Outside the South he has observed it only in the speech of one Ohioan (whose mother grew up in Nashville), and in the speech of a Marylander (with whom it is not habitual).

Of my informants, the majority indicated their familiarity with this construction. Only the following called it unfamiliar: Alberta 3, California 6, Connecticut 12, Delaware 15 17 19 21 26 29 30 31 32 36, Illinois 48 49 51 52 57 59, Kansas 69, Massachusetts 86, 90 92 94, New Jersey 116 119 120, New York 129 131 134 135 136 144 149 156, Ohio 175 177, Ontario 189, Oregon 192, Pennsylvania 198 199 200 202 205 207 208 209 211, Utah 226, Vermont 229, Washington 238, Wisconsin 243 246. A few of the others indicated that they had heard it, but not in their home speech areas—as follows: Arizona 5 (in Del.), California 7 (in the Midwest) 9 (in Pa.), District of Columbia 41 (in W. Va.), Kansas 70 (in the East), Massachusetts 87 (in sw. U. S.) 89 (in Del.) 93 (uncertain of area), New Hampshire 114 (uncertain of area), New Jersey 117 (in Del.) 122 (in Iowa), New York 124 (in Pa.) 127 (in Miss.) 132 (in Tex.) 142 (in N. Mex.) 153 (in the South and Midwest) 155 (in Del. and Tex.) 157 (in Colorado), North Dakota 165 (in N. Car.), Ohio 172 (in Fla.) 176 (in Okla.) 179 (in the South) 181 (in W. Va.), Texas 221 (in Okla.), Vermont 230 (in the South and Midwest), Virginia 236 (in La., Miss., and Tex.). The rest considered it natural idiom, with the exception of Kansas 71, who marked it rural, and Maine 77, who did not consider it 'good' speech.

Professor Russell is obviously right in stressing the prevalence of this idiom in the South, but in view of the results just presented it can hardly be called regional. In fact, its presence in literary English, as shown by

31. A colleague of mine remembers this idiom in the speech of one of her grandmothers, a Philadelphian, whose dates were 1853-1924.

32. *AS* 16: 17. Cf. *DN* 2: 419, where the construction is reported from nw. Ark.

the citations in Curme³³ and Jespersen,³⁴ makes one wonder if we are dealing here not so much with a colloquialism as with an idiom of standard speech.

7. 'OFF OF, OFF FROM'

The *NED*, s.v. *off* (A. 7), observes that in England the adverb *off* in all senses may be followed by *from*; formerly, and still 'dial.,' by *of*. In American colloquial, however, *off of* is still commonly used.³⁵

Those of my informants who were asked to indicate their familiarity with the phrases *off of* and *off from* in the informal speech of their home speech areas responded as follows (the examples used were (1) 'My brother leaped off of the moving train' and (2) 'My brother leaped off from the moving train'): Alabama 1, Alberta 3, California 7, Delaware 14 15 17 18 20 21 23 25 26 27 29 31 32 33 36, District of Columbia 40 41, Florida 42, Georgia 45, 46, Idaho 47, Illinois 48 53 54 59, Indiana 61 62, Kansas 70 71, Kentucky 72 73 75, Maryland 79 80, Massachusetts 85 90 94, Michigan 98 100, New Jersey 117 119 120 121 122, New Mexico 123, New York 126 140 150 153, North Carolina 163, North Dakota 165, Ohio 170 171 172 180 181, Oklahoma 187, Oregon 190 191, Pennsylvania 193 194 196 201 209 210, Tennessee 217 218 220, Texas 221, Utah 227, Vermont 229 230, Virginia 232 235 236, Wisconsin 242 and 244 knew *off of* only;³⁶ Delaware 16 knew *off from* only; and California 8 10, Delaware 30 38, Georgia 43, Illinois 57 60, Iowa 64, Maryland 84, Massachusetts 92, Michigan 97 99 101 102, Minnesota 105 106³⁷ 107 108, Missouri 109 111, Nebraska 112, New Hampshire 113 114, New York 130 131 134 137 139 141 142 143 148 149 154 157, North Carolina 162, North Dakota 167, Ohio 174 175 177 179 184, Oklahoma 186, Oregon 192, Pennsylvania 199 204 213, South Dakota 215, Texas 224, Virginia 233, Wisconsin 243 245 246 247 248 249, and Wyoming 250 knew both *off of* and *off from*.

Both idioms thus seem to be familiar in all of the major speech areas, with *off of* the more common of the two. *Off from* appears to be strongest in the North Central area, especially in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

With the rest of the informants³⁸ (about forty per cent) the assump-

33. *Syntax*, p. 250.

34. *Modern English Grammar*, 5: 300f.

35. Cf. Curme, *Syntax*, p. 565.

36. Outside the informant's own speech area *off from* had been heard by Delaware 29 (in Pa.), Florida 42 (in Ky.), Georgia 45 (in Texas), Illinois 54 (in N. Y.), Kansas 71 (in Texas), Michigan 100 (in Mo.), New Jersey 122 (in N. Y.), New York 126 (in Fla.), Ohio 172 (in Del.), Oregon 191 (in W. Va.), Virginia 235 (in Pa., W. Va.).

37. *Off from* is marked 'very familiar.'

38. Except Arizona 4, Delaware 19 28 34 37 39, Illinois 51, Iowa 68, Maryland 83,

tion that *off* is formal and that *off of* and *off from* are colloquial was set aside. These informants were asked to choose, from sentences (1) and (2) as given above and from sentence (3) 'My brother leaped off the moving train,' the two idioms that seemed most natural to them, and to arrange their choices in the order of naturalness. The following chose *off*, *off of*: Arizona 5, California 6 9, Connecticut 12 13, Delaware 22 35, Iowa 65, Louisiana 76, Massachusetts 86 87 89, Michigan 95 103, Minnesota 104, New Jersey 115 118, New York 124 125 127 128 129 135 136 147 152 155, North Carolina 158 164, North Dakota 166, Nova Scotia 169, Ohio 173 176 182, Pennsylvania 195 197 200 205 206 207 212, Utah 225 226 228,³⁹ Washington 238, West Virginia 241. The following chose *off*, *off from*: Colorado 11, Illinois 52, Maine 77 78, Maryland 81, Missouri 110, New York 151, Ohio 178 183 185, Oklahoma 188, Tennessee 216, West Virginia 240. One informant, North Dakota 168, made *off* his first choice and both *off of* and *off from* his second. One informant, Massachusetts 88, put *off* and *off of* in first place and made no second choice. Two informants, Illinois 58 and Washington 239, also put *off* and *off of* in first place, but gave *off from* as second choice. The following chose *off of*, *off*: Alabama 2, Delaware 24, Illinois 50 55 56, Indiana 63, Iowa 67, Kansas 69, Kentucky 74, Maryland 82, Michigan 96, New York 132 138 145, Pennsylvania 202 211, Texas 223, Virginia 231 234. Two informants, Illinois 49 and Iowa 66, chose *off from*, *off*. And the following put *off* in first place and refrained from making a second choice: Georgia 44, Massachusetts 91 93, North Carolina 159 160 161, Ontario 189, Pennsylvania 203, Rhode Island 214, Tennessee 219, Texas 222.

Off appears in first place about four-fifths of the time, but the failure of the other one-fifth of the informants to give it first place is the point to be noted. In the given context the phrases *off of* and *off from* not only seem well established in colloquial speech in America, but some speakers use them on the standard level as well. These results should be compared with those in *Current English Usage* (1935): 'Not quite one-third of the judges approve this expression [*off of* in a similar context] as colloquial English. The remainder consider it uncultivated.'

8. 'TYPE PERSON'

Consider the following examples of prepositional genitive phrase beside adjunct noun equivalent:⁴⁰

New Jersey 116, New York 133 144 146 156, Pennsylvania 198 208, and Washington 237, who did not participate.

39. *Off from* is marked 'heard in Utah.'

40. Cf. C. C. Fries, 'Some Notes on the Inflected Genitive in Present-Day English,' *Language*, 14: 129-130.

the front of the store	the store front
a curtain of lace	a lace curtain
the physique of a prize-fighter	a prize-fighter physique
women of the smart type	smart-type women
a person of the type that I dislike	the type person that I dislike

This familiar pattern is responsible, as the last example suggests, for colloquial constructions like 'the quality work she does,' and 'the style dress that is becoming to most people.'⁴¹

Of the informants, the following said that they were unfamiliar with this idiom in the informal speech of their home speech areas: Alberta 3, Arizona 5, California 8, Connecticut 12, Delaware 16 24 27 39, District of Columbia 41, Georgia 44, Idaho 47, Illinois 55 58 59 60, Iowa 65 68, Kentucky 74, Louisiana 76, Maine 77, Massachusetts 87 94, Michigan 96 98 102 103, Minnesota 108, Missouri 109, New Jersey 116 117, New York 126 129 131 132 133 134 135 136 144 149, North Carolina 162 163, North Dakota 167 168, Nova Scotia 169, Ohio 177 178 180 184, Ontario 189, Oregon 192, Pennsylvania 199 213, South Dakota 215, Tennessee 218, Texas 223 224, Utah 227, Vermont 229, Virginia 231 234 235 236, Washington 237 238, Wisconsin 242 243 244 249. The following had heard it outside their own speech areas: Delaware 20 (in se. Pa.), District of Columbia 40 (in the Midwest), Illinois 52 (in La.) 54 (in Fla.), Iowa 66 (in Ark.), Massachusetts 89 (in Ala.), New Jersey 119 (on the radio), North Carolina 158 (in the East), Ohio 172 (in Fla.), Pennsylvania 196 (in Ga.), Virginia 233 (in Fla.). The rest⁴² marked it familiar.⁴³ This evidence shows that the *type person* construction is current colloquially in all the larger divisions of the American speech area.

41. For an example of this construction in literature see my note in *AS* 14: 290.

42. With the exception of Maine 78, Minnesota 104, Pennsylvania 202, and Wisconsin 246, who did not participate.

43. Some informants were especially emphatic about their familiarity with this idiom. Oregon 190 said that he had heard educated speakers, including radio announcers, use this expression, and added, 'Some people out there think it is more correct than *type of person*'; Washington 239 had not realized before that *type person* had an alternative; and Utah 228 not only used the idiom himself, but also had heard it in Louisiana.

CERTAIN FASHIONS IN COMMAS AND APOSTROPHES

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

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THE MOST widely read literature in the United States, and consequently perhaps the most influential for the rapid introduction of new usages, is the headlines of newspapers. The world of headlines has lately been swept by a new epidemic, an extension of the substitution of the comma for the co-ordinating conjunction.

If I were describing standard punctuation, 'substitution of the comma for the conjunction' would be such careless language on my part that it might discredit all that I have to say. But in the case of headline usage I think the phrase is rigorously accurate.

There exists a widespread belief that one of the functions of the comma is to take the place of an omitted word, especially of an omitted co-ordinating conjunction; I hear say that this doctrine is enunciated in the manual of style of the University of Chicago Press. I have little doubt that the belief in question rests on a good deal of instruction given in elementary schools, though I do not know what support it has in school textbooks even of the lowest grades. But this belief, through whatever channels it comes, has had a very perceptible influence on the dissension as to whether in cases of monosyndeton—that is, in cases of the type 'A, B, and C'—we should or should not use the comma before the expressed conjunction. A good-sized minority will mentally argue, 'The purpose of the comma after "A" is to take the place of the omitted conjunction; consequently it is illogical to use it also after "B," where the conjunction is expressed.' A few years ago an American man of letters of excellent reputation in the second line of prominence died, and the literary reviews printed anecdotal reminiscences of him. One of the most interesting anecdotes told of an outburst of furious indignation against those who would use the comma before *and* in such a case: were they incapable of perceiving that here the conjunction was expressed and consequently there was no motive for the comma? This man, who wrote excellent light literature and plenty of it, did not take it into his head that the use of the comma in 'A, B, and C,' whether it be one comma or two commas, might have another object than to point out the ellipsis of a short word.

Now I cannot think it doubtful that this same popular misconception of the function of the comma was the determining factor in the headlines' recent sudden extension of the use of asyndeton. Because the

comma takes the place of an omitted conjunction, therefore the conjunction may be omitted and replaced by a comma wherever considerations of space require it.

In point of fact the rule of good English is and has been that asyndetons of three or more nouns in series are good wherever a writer feels that he has a motive, but asyndetons of two nouns are generally bad English. The asyndeton of two nouns is not invariably bad. In the huge field of English literature, any desired number of examples of unobjectionable asyndeton of two nouns can be rapidly collected. Nevertheless the rule is that the asyndeton of two nouns is usually incorrect syntax. The reason is that the series of two nouns with comma but no conjunction has too much the air of an apposition. In a sentence like 'My cousin, my physician, my fiancé, can testify that I was in Woonsocket that night,' it is of course theoretically possible that the second and the third noun may both be appositive to the first; but such sequences of appositives are so rare that the sentence does not make this impression. But omit any one of the three terms, and the remaining two will have very much the air of apposition. Similarly in headline style: say, for instance, 'Committee Hears Protests of Millionaire, Educator, Philanthropist.' All right; those are obviously three men. But omit one of the three, and it will not be obvious that the remaining two are not one man. The rule, based on this foundation, is so general in spite of legitimate exceptions that an asyndeton of two nouns is often felt as harsh even where the sense forbids any misunderstanding. Thus, 'They were afraid of bears, panthers' is a harsh sentence and needs the insertion of an *and* to make it sound right; but 'they were afraid of bears, panthers, rattlesnakes' is a faultless sentence, and the insertion of an *and* is as purely optional as is the insertion of two *and*'s.

But this general rule against asyndeton of two nouns is not in the textbooks; and the typical headline writer is entirely dependent on the textbooks for his inhibitions in the matter of correctness. He is not ashamed of this; he has no idea that anybody ought to know from his experience of good literature more than the textbooks can tell him about what is good English and what is not; he believes that the textbooks he has used are not only infallible (except when they contradict each other) but also exhaustive, and that any attempt to apply a rule which is not in these books is a matter of personal taste, which is equivalent to personal whim. If he were asked to decide between 'John and I will go' and 'John and I shall go,' a point which is specifically treated in some textbooks but not in the ones he has used, he would settle the question by a literal application of the rules and definitions given in the books he

knows, and would consequently give the incorrect answer with complete assurance that he was being formally correct even if it did 'sound queer.'

So it came to pass in this matter of the asyndeton of two nouns. For many years the headline writers used correct English in this respect by instinct, because no other form came into their heads. But when some one of the guild set the example of using asyndetons unrestrainedly, the others all said to themselves, 'Why, sure enough! there is no rule against it, and it will very often help the spacing; that's real progress in the art of headline writing!' and the fashion swept the headlines of the nation like a flood. There were, indeed, papers that did not yield to the bad fashion; there has been a reaction against it, and less of it is seen than at one time; but it remains one of the threatening linguistic phenomena of our day.

One or two fragmentary points about co-ordinating commas. There is sometimes a sentence that is hardly punctuatable on any basis; and it does not even necessarily follow that the sentence is bad. For instance, more than fifty years ago Murat Halstead wrote, 'I believed that the Republican party was justified in fighting the St. John frauds with fire and brimstone, clubs, pitchforks, and butcher-knives, sticks, stones, and tomahawks.' Now, whether that sentence was good ethics or not, it was excellent English. But, whatever your principles of punctuation may be, you will hardly be able to apply them to that sentence with thoroughly satisfactory effect. I think, however, there can be little doubt that the evil of omitting the comma before the second and third *and* in that sentence is greater than the evil of inserting it.

Two strong influences are now at work to reduce the rules of punctuation to harsh inflexibility. One, which is not new, is concerned with the economics of the printing business. The persons who may be concerned with the punctuation of a printed sentence are the author, the publisher's editor, the typesetter, the first proofreader, and, except in hasty work, the second proofreader. If these punctuate on the basis of literary taste, then (since it is proverbial that tastes differ) one who comes after will reverse the decisions of one who went before, and there will be much lost motion in making corrections that are often of dubious merit as improvements. This might of course be obviated by treating the author's punctuation as sacrosanct; but this is impracticable in the case of authors who deliberately leave most of the responsibility of punctuation to the printer (a class which includes more honorable names than you will believe if you have not had experience), and in the case of authors who do not know how to punctuate in a way that will satisfy a reader, and in the case of authors who make many oversights in these little inconspicuous

marks. Besides, the invention of the typewriter has made it increasingly probable that what comes to the publisher as the author's punctuation is in fact the punctuation of his secretary, who may have misunderstood his meaning. Consequently the standard way to save expense is to have the publisher's editor, the typesetter, and the proofreaders all bound by a set of rigorous rules which do not depend on anything so variable as literary taste, but by which all parties shall be bound to arrive at the same result whether they have any literary taste or not. Then these codes of rules are printed in books, technically called manuals of style, and people are recommended to get the manual of style of a reputable publisher because it will settle so many questions which ordinary textbooks do not settle. This is to say, you are to get the manual because it will perform the desirable service of binding you on a bed of Procrustes, devised for the purpose of cheapening the work of printing.

The other agency that works to the same effect is a comparatively new one, the movement for standardizing the marking of pupils' standing in schools. It is desired that if a pupil has done his work in a certain way, all teachers shall credit his work with the same degree of goodness or badness. Now in various points of the writing of English, of which punctuation is one, if the teachers mark on a basis of literary taste the result will be that one teacher will disapprove what another teacher approves, and the pupil's mark will depend more or less on the teacher's personality. Apparently the only remedy for this is to insist that the school standard of English shall be fixed on a basis not of literary effectiveness, which is to say not of efficiency for any of the purposes for which language is used, but of woodenly rigid rules which all teachers can be required to apply alike because of the purely mechanical character of these rules. The movement for this kind of standardization of instruction is strong and is having a good deal of effect. It has its headquarters in the normal schools and teachers' colleges; and everybody knows that we are now demanding that all teachers shall be the product of these institutions.

As an example of Procrusteanism in the particular field of co-ordination and the comma, I have worked many years in an office where the rule was that when *or* connected two different things, as 'cats or dogs,' there should be no comma, but when it connected two names for the same thing, as 'the ground-hog, or woodchuck,' the comma must be used. This rule was applied even in the case of adjectives, as 'the common, or garden, bean.' The actual usage of good English writers is to omit the comma with *or* between two adjectives which in their combination with the noun give synonymous expressions, 'the common or garden bean,'

and between two nouns to let its use depend on such considerations as the length of modifying expressions with either noun, the desire for either a swift movement of the sentence or a formally articulated movement, and the like, regardless of whether the nouns or noun phrases are synonymous or not.

A point on which practice is not uniform is the comma at the close of an asyndeton, as 'Cats, dogs, weasels, are carnivorous animals.' With adjectives we omit the comma after the last of the series: 'tall, stately trees.' With nouns the better supported practice is to use the closing comma. The principal motive, I think, is that we are thus enabled to show whether a following qualifying expression goes with the last noun only or with all the series. In my 'cats, dogs, weasels' sentence add 'and their kin' after 'weasels'; now if you use the comma after 'weasels,' then 'their kin' is the kin of all three, but if you use it after 'kin' and omit it after 'weasels,' then 'their kin' is the kin only of the weasel. If you have no comma after either 'weasels' or 'kin,' then the sentence becomes hopelessly ambiguous. Even when there is no expanding phrase, and the nouns are followed directly by the verb to which they are subjects, the effect of omitting the comma is to me a confusing suggestion that the verb might go only with the last one. Nevertheless usage is not uniform on this point; there is probably as much disagreement on this comma as there is on the comma before the conjunction in monosyndeton; and there exist certain types of technical language in which the clearness of the technical situation, to the initiated, so far takes the place of punctuation that the omission of this comma seems most convenient.

In newspaper punctuation (including, this time, the hand-lettered text of the cartoonists) the latest aberrant tendency is that of using apostrophes before monosyllabic words which are falsely supposed to be abridgments of forms with prefixes. One sees on all hands '*til*' as if for *until*, though doubtless not yet as often as the standard form *till*; one sees '*round*' even in cases where Britons complain of *around* as an Americanism, and where schoolbooks that undertake to prune out Americanisms condemn the use of *around*, so that according to the most precisian textbooks the newspaper is in the position of treating the correct form as a mutilation of the incorrect; and, though less often, '*though*' as if for *although*.

To the same class, it seems to me, belongs one form which has for some time been prevalent, the apostrophe before *way* as an intensive before expressions of distance or direction, as in '*way back*, '*way in*. I do not deny that this *way* is actually an abridgment from *away*; but I maintain

that the shorter form has been differentiated into an independent word with a meaning of its own, so that it would in general be incorrect to substitute *away* for *way*. I know the schoolbooks say we ought to say *away* in all these cases, but schoolbooks are highly fallible; for instance, they uniformly prescribe that when *set* is used intransitively of a teapot or chair 'setting' in this place or that, it should be corrected to *sit*—although the only correct form is *stand*, and *sit* in these cases is even more incorrect than *set* because it has less of decent support in usage. I know, also, that 'Away, away, away down South in Dixie' can be quoted against me, and that in conversation 'You're away off' (whether under school-room influence or not) is not unusual; but I insist that these are sporadic exceptions to a valid generalization, that it would be positively misleading to say 'He went away to Denver' if you mean 'He went way to Denver,' and that the apostrophe before *way* should, in good American parlance, go way back and sit down.

We all know it is common to use apostrophes which have become customary on the ground of false theories of derivation. The apostrophe is put in *John's hat* because of a bungling (and now extinct) assumption that this is for *John his hat*; it is put in *O'Brien* because of a bungling assumption that this is for *of Brien*; it is put in *t'other* because of a bungling assumption that this was once *the other*; and so forth. The fact is, the apostrophe is a morbid growth in English orthography, and our language would be none the worse for its abolition. In general I regard rules of the 'When in doubt' form as disreputable whether in ethics or in grammar (some card-player has characterized certain other players by saying that they have heard that when in doubt you should play a trump, and as they are always in doubt, they always play a trump), but 'When in doubt, omit the apostrophe' might be said to be a downright safe rule. If you omit, as does Bernard Shaw, some apostrophes which rest on a rational basis and are prescribed by thoroughly settled usage, the only result is that you will seem to be a highbrow eccentric like Shaw, which will do your reputation little harm; but if, like the newspapers of this moment, you insert the apostrophe in places where it has neither of these supports, you are taking unnecessary trouble to proclaim to the world your ignorance of good usage, your ignorance of etymology, and your pedantic self-conceit in assuming to correct the language of those who know more than you do. You are combining all that is offensive in lowbrowism with all that is offensive in highbrowism.

SOME FUNCTIONS OF TIME IN SPEECH

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ONE OF Joseph Addison's charming essays begins as follows: 'My friend Sir Roger de Coverley, when we last met together at the club, told me, that he had a great mind to see the new tragedy with me, assuring me at the same time, that he had not been at a play these twenty years.' Compare with this form of communication a sentence by Mollie Panter-Downes, printed in the *New Yorker* for August 7, 1943: 'He added cheerfully that problems are bound to crop up in an army of seventy thousand women who were in the curious position of being hired and trained by the state but who worked for private employers.'

Quite apart from all other matters of style and substance, it is immediately clear that the writer of the first sentence had all the time in the world, whereas the second writer was in a hurry. The former says little in many words, with five commas to slow down his delivery and increase the time required for it; the latter bristles with information, like an animated statistical table, and her remark is, as it were, flung over her shoulder as she walks away. Taking this example as a starter, I should like to point out certain little-observed relations between time and speech.

The folk-consciousness of our people is fully aware of the fact that the quality of a statement depends in part on the time it takes to utter it. A 'curt' remark is on the unfriendly side, and so are replies which may be termed 'brief,' 'laconic,' 'short,' or even, sometimes, 'quick.' A connotation of brevity attaches likewise, I think, to the words 'brusque,' 'blunt,' and 'abrupt,' and has something to do with their characteristic uses. A 'rude' remark is commonly a short one. The idea of friendliness, or its opposite, is probably bound up with the notion that to deny your time to a person is felt to be in some fashion ungracious, ungenerous, inconsiderate. Conversely, while the connotative range of the following words is considerable, they all imply that the speaker is not just brushing statement or question aside, but is giving them attention and time: 'leisurely,' 'deliberate,' 'unhurried,' 'considered,' 'measured,' 'ample.'

Similar considerations apply to certain common speech-formulas: the longer the formula, *i.e.*, the longer it takes to voice it, the more force, or social value, it is likely to have. Thus, in acknowledging thanks for a service rendered, consider the following line-up:

Welcome

You're welcome

You're most welcome
 You're very welcome
 You're entirely welcome
 Sir, you are entirely welcome

Or take the conclusion of a letter:

Sincerely
 Sincerely yours
 Most sincerely yours
 Very sincerely yours

In both the examples just given, the phrases are almost wholly conventional, and differences in *meaning* within each group are negligible; but both social convention and our language feeling rate the longest formula as more formal and deferential than the shortest one. This is no mere accident: it reveals one of the functions of time in speech, that of weighting an utterance. The point is illustrated by the tart—and curt!—reply of the small boy who considered that a plain 'Thanks' was inadequate to the occasion, and replied with ostentatious brevity, 'Welks.'

The relation of time to weight may be observed in parallel expressions like the following:

personally
 for my own part
 so far as I personally am concerned in this matter

 considering
 in the light of the facts
 in view of all the attendant circumstances

Again, the meaning is approximately the same in each set of phrases, but the effect, which doubtless derives from the speaker's mind, is quite different.

Much the same thing applies to the oath or imprecation. 'Damn it' is certainly less forceful than 'God damn it to hell,' and both are eclipsed by such a mouth-filling phrase as the German 'Himmelkreuzdonnerwetternochamall' (which *means* absolutely nothing, but is immensely satisfying to the swearer). Too long to quote here, the furious diatribe delivered to the yellow nag at the end of Kipling's 'Walking Delegate' by the old car-horse Muldoon is one of the most impressive utterances of its kind that I know in English; this is in large part a time-effect, the cumulative invective acting somewhat like a key winding up a coiled spring.

At this point we may digress briefly to touch upon the matter of 'timing,' which theatre folk in general and all public speakers employ with conscious and studied effect. Here too we are dealing with a manipula-

tion or modulation of speech-time, which may involve such things as the promptness with which a response is made, the hesitation which spells guilt, stupidity, or insecurity, the rapidity of reply which betrays nervousness or embarrassment, the sluggishness which indicates stalling, and so forth. Likewise, a common use of the written dash is to represent the rhetorical pause which serves to gain attention and point a phrase. Mark Twain uses it with telling effect in the exciting trial scene of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*:

'Valet de Chambre, negro and slave,—falsely called Thomas à Becket Driscoll,—make upon the window the fingerprints that will hang you!'

Mark Twain, master of platform delivery, knew very well the trick whereby a speaker will suddenly interrupt himself and wait for the infallible turn of eyes and faces which denotes suspense and anticipation.

Returning to what I may call the time-weighting of speech, I find that this principle underlies a number of devices for which I propose the designation 'time-extendors.' Though they vary widely in character, and operate on different levels, they have in common this one feature, that an idea or concept is held up to longer view than a mere mention would allow it. Just so the director of a moving-picture regulates the amount of time allotted to a given landscape or view by the importance which he wishes his spectators to attach to it.

A substantial amount of our inner-sentence punctuation is in effect, if not in intention, a sort of brake on the rapidity of ordinary speech. An attempt to race against each other, as it were, the two sentences with which this discussion opens would leave Addison far behind, and make him the panther rather than the lady. It seems to me significant, and in keeping with the accelerated tempo of our modern life, that writers today tend to reduce the number of commas used, either by skipping over them or by rearranging their sentences so as to render them unnecessary. I am frank to confess that a sentence heavily loaded with punctuation disturbs me, putting me out of breath as I try to do justice to each break in the oral flow. Take the following passage written by Dr. Johnson in a letter of April 12, 1783:

Of his work I can say nothing; I pretend not to judge of painting; and this picture I never saw; but I conceive it extremely hard to shut out any man from the possibility of success; and therefore I repeat my request that you will propose the re-consideration of Mr. Lowe's case; and if there be any among the Council . . .

It would not be impossible to vary the pace of this passage, but it would be difficult to hurry it, and certainly out of keeping with the writer's intent.

Our colloquial speech is particularly rich in certain time-extendors

which fall into two general categories, one controlled by the original speaker, the other by his partner or opponent. The speaker himself may extend his remark by an appropriate response to the partner's comment, thus: 'That's what I said,' 'That's just what I mean,' 'Sure as shootin',' 'Cross my heart,' 'Honor bright.' Compare also the slightly belligerent forms, commonly in response to a negative from the other side, such as, 'I did too,' 'I did so,' 'Yes I did!' or, in a different tone, 'You heard me!' In low-grade speech we have a highly specialized form, like this: 'I sez, "The answer is Phooey," I sez, "an' that's final," I sez, "an' now what do you say?" I sez.'

A second group of forms results from the partner's desire to keep the subject open. He may approve, as in 'Yes, *sir*,' 'That's right,' 'You said it,' 'No kidding,' 'You're telling me,' 'You bet,' 'You said a mouthful,' 'I'll say so,' 'Sure thing,' 'No doubt about it,' and so on, or he may be doubtful, surprised, incredulous: 'What's that (you say)?' 'You did?' 'You didn't!' 'Say that again, will you?'

A different kind of time-extender operates in the emphasized phrase, which in print would be set in italics: it is not commonly realized that in delivering such a phrase or sentence the reader or speaker invariably slows his speech-tempo. The object, of course, is to insure the hearer's full understanding of the utterance; but the increased time automatically lends it more weight. A good example is to be found at the end of Chapter 7 in James Hilton's *Lost Horizon*, when Conway says, '*That you are still alive, Father Perrault.*' I cannot imagine this sentence spoken rapidly.

In general, the commonest and simplest form of extender is repetition; this can be observed in almost any conversation. Rarely does the man in the street get off a funny story without repeating the point of it at least once; never does the doting grandmother content herself with a single recital of the latest bright saying of her descendant. Carried to an extreme, and involving a recurrent mention of a given topic, repetition gets a special term: we then speak of 'harping' on something—perhaps because the primitive harp knew little variety, or because the harpist played many repetitions of the same chord in accompanying the folksong? 'Still harping on my daughter,' says Polonius.

A more sophisticated form of repetition is prevalent in the alliterative poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, where it is commonly known as parallelism or variation; e.g.:

and heard I not ever
That a folk ever furnished a float more superbly
With weapons of warfare, weeds for the battle,
Bills and burnies . . . (*Beowulf*, tr. by J. L. Hall)

In all ages, of course, repetitional variation is one of the essential devices of poetic form.

Similar in principle, though different in its operation and effect, is the practice of amplification as employed by all good essayists. The second paragraph of Macaulay's essay on Machiavelli begins as follows: 'We doubt whether any name in literary history be so generally odious as that of the man whose character and writings we now propose to consider.' The remainder of the paragraph is devoted to a justification of this statement, which it may thus be taken as 'extending.' This general pattern is well known and requires no analysis here; but it has not perhaps been always realized that the quantity of the subsequent remarks, deriving from the number and variety of the examples cited, reflects on the one hand the writer's own attitude toward the point of the topic sentence, but also determines, on the other hand, the degree to which the reader's attention is focused upon it. Any good essayist is fully aware that unless he takes the time to drive home his idea by a seemingly spontaneous but ingeniously prolonged insistence, the reader is likely to skip over it and never discover what the writer is driving at.

To demonstrate a different application of the same principle, let me quote the translation of a celebrated passage from Goethe's *Faust*. It is the one in which Faust lays down the terms of the pact with Mephisto; I interline with the original the translation given in Stawell and Dickinson's *Goethe and Faust*:

Werd ich zum Augenblicke sagen:	
If ever I can say	
Verweile doch! du bist so schön!	
To the bright moment as it flits away,	
Dann magst du mich in Fesseln schlagen,	
'Stay yet a little while, thou art so fair!'	
Dann will ich gern zugrunde gehn!	
Then let me wear your chain,	
Dann mag die Totenglocke schallen,	
Then sink, and willingly!	
Dann bist du deines Dienstes frei,	
Then toll my passing bell	
Die Uhr mag stehn, der Zeiger fallen,	
And you go free!	
Es sei die Zeit für mich vorbei!	
The clock may stop, the pointer drop,	
And time be done for me!	

In the translation, the meaning of the original is correctly and even finely given, and yet something is lacking of Goethe's intention: *the time is wrong*. 'Then toll my passing bell and you go free' is not the full equivalent in *weight* of 'Dann mag die Totenglocke schallen, dann bist

du deines Dienstes frei': the very sweep of the German lines, unhurried, deliberate, almost rhetorically solemn, conveys to us the assurance that this is not a momentary impulse on Faust's part, but that it is indeed, as he insists, backed by the full force of his conscious will, and is therefore binding upon him. In a word, the greater time occupied by the German affects not only the sound but the very significance of the thing said.

In all this body of more or less related fact and observation, I find a unifying feature in the reflection that western man, being a consciously temporal creature, is naturally time-bound and time-responsive. His entire life is profoundly affected by time, and it may be claimed that the fruitfulness of his life depends to a large extent upon the proper control of his time. Awareness of the functions of time in speech should lead to more effective use of that marvelous mechanism without which nothing that we know as civilization would be in existence today.

NEW AMERICAN LEXICAL EVIDENCE

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NINETY-FIVE words and combinations are listed in the glossary below, with at least one dated citation attesting the use of each in American English. The terms do not belong to one semantic category, but are miscellaneous by-products of systematic reading for words used in American business, cotton-farming, politics, and railroading.

The glossary is intended to supplement the evidence provided in the *Dictionary of American English* by furnishing additional entries, additional meanings, and earlier or later dates. Some of the terms are Americanisms, usages that originated in America; others originated in Great Britain but have had significance in the American vocabulary. A few of the items may be individualisms or nonce-forms; they are put on record here in case other investigators should find the same terms and desire corroborative citations. The occurrence of two expressions, *broken bone fever* and *cliqued*, makes unnecessary the cautious 'individualism' label attached to them by the *DAE*, since independent evidence of their usage is provided.

A + mark preceding a word or a definition indicates an Americanism shown by the *DAE*. A ++ mark indicates an Americanism not listed, or not listed as such, by the *DAE*. Dates following words or definitions are the dates of the illustrative quotations cited by the *DAE*, and dates in { } are the British dates cited by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. An * indicates that the word was used in British English before the year 1600. Abbreviations and symbols are the same as those used in the *DAE*. In the first reference made to a periodical the full title and place of publication are given; subsequent references are by short title only. All magazines cited are identified in the *Union List of Serials*.

+APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS. 1672-. [1607 Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians* (1912) 28 Mountaynes Apalatsi.]¹

BARNUMIZE. *v. tr.* 1864-. ++To subject to showy, bombastic advertising. 1853 *Bankers' Magazine* (Boston) VIII, 630 Other cities . . . for the purpose of trade, are continually Barnumizing the country. ++BEAR AND STAR. Emblem on the Bear Flag, *q.v.* in *DAE*. 1849 *Bankers' Mag.* III, 656 The corps of volunteers . . . raised the flag of the 'Bear and Star.' The num-

ber of grizzly bears in the country and the single star of the Texan flag, probably suggested the device of their own banner.

++BEAR MAN. *Now hist.* An insurgent in the California insurrection of June, 1846. 1849 *Bankers' Mag.* III, 656 These were styled Bear Men.

++BEAR REVOLUTION. The California insurrection of June, 1846. 1849 *Bankers' Mag.* III, 656 The movement of American settlers under Mr. Ide . . . was called the 'Bear Revolution.'

BLUFF. *a.* Of the face: Broad and flat. *Obs.* 1729-. {1664-87} 1674 Alvord and

1. This English approximation of the Indian name occurs in *Capt. Newport's Discoveries*; it was called to my attention by Dr. Lee Bidgood.

Bidgood, *Trans-Allegheny Region* (1912), 215 I saw ye Occhonechees Indian knowne by ye name of John, a fatt thick bluff faced fellow.

++BOWED COTTON. *Obs.* 1841 Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine* (New York) III, 212 Georgia upland cotton was long called Bowed, because it was originally cleaned from its seeds by the blows of a bowstring. *Ibid.*, III, 217 The species of cotton long known as the bowed Georgia, derives its name from the mode of cleaning it. 1846 De Bow's *Commercial Review of the South and West* (New Orleans) I, 320 The term bowed cotton attached to our uplands has been thus explained. 1848 *Bankers' Mag.* III, 78 The upland cotton, or that grown in the interior, is known by the name of *short staple or bowed cotton*.

BREAK.* *v. tr.* ++In phr. 'break the golden harp.' See quot. 1874 *The Southern Magazine* (Baltimore) XIV, 378 'What do you mean by that—breaking the golden harp?' 'My lor! don't you know, Miss Jennie? He meant ef I done a murder I couldn't never have nothin' to play on in hebben.'

++BROKEN BONE FEVER. *S.* Dengue or breakbone fever. *DAE* has one quot., 1872, marked as a possible individualism. The following quot. justifies the entry without qualification: 1880 *Bradstreet's* (New York) 15 Sept. 3/1 Nearly one-half the city [Charleston, S.C.] is down with the broken bone fever.

++BROOM GRASS. 1793-. a1686 Alvord and Bidgood, *Trans-Allegheny Region* (1912) 189 'Old fields' is a common expression for land that has been cultivated by the Indians and left fallow, which are generally overrun with what they call broom grass.

++BUZZARD PLOW. Cf. *Buzzard sweep* in *DAE*. 1848 De Bow's *Rev.* VI, 150 It is more like the scooter or buzzard plow.

CANAL.* ++A large irrigation ditch (1808 *AS* 17:125). 1847 De Bow's *Rev.* IV, 231 The canals should be always wide.

++CAT CHURN. A churn operated by cat power, 1853 *Prairie Farmer* (Chicago) Jan. 38 The editor of this paper has no connection with any Store . . . nor has

he any interest in any . . . Dog or Cat Churn.

CISTERN BOTTOM. +Sugar obtained from the bottom of a molasses cistern. ++*Attrib.* 1848 De Bow's *Rev.* VI, 457 Adding the cistern bottom sugars . . . the crop of 1844-5 exceeded 200,000 hogshheads.

CITIZEN.* *Attrib.* Civilian, in contrast to military. 1871-. 1834 *American Railroad Journal* (New York) III, 585/1 A gentleman . . . had been employed as a citizen-physician to accompany the Dragoons.

CLIQUE(D). ++Of stocks: controlled by a speculators' clique. *DAE* has *cliqued*, 1885, marked as a possible individualism. 1867 *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (New York) V, 588/2 On the clique stocks falling below a certain point the combination are prompt buyers. 1881 *Bradstreet's* 26 Nov. 344/1 Banks are just now in state of extreme distrust in regard to 'pooled' or 'cliqued' stocks; that is, stocks which are mainly held by combinations of speculators.

COME OFF. To happen, occur. 1847-53. {1825} 1833 *Am. R.R. Jour.* II, 829/1 The match will come off on the first of June. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 13 Dec. 1/2 Quite an exciting municipal election came off here on the third instant.

++CORKONIAN. Member of a faction of Irish-American laborers. a1837-. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III (21 June) 384/1 The parties arrayed against each other are known as the *Fardowns* and the *Corkonians*.

++CORNSTALK SUGAR. Sugar made from cornstalk molasses. 1843 *Merchants' Mag.* IX, 294 [Caption] CORNSTALK SUGAR. 1848 *Ibid.*, XIX, 491 The manufacture of beet or corn-stalk sugar . . . might be effected.

COTTAGE.* ++A summer residence at a resort. 1882-. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 10 Dec. 3/1 Much capital is invested [at Newport, R.I.] in cottages.

++COUNTRY STORE KEEPER. Operator of a rural store. -1774. 1840 *Merchants' Mag.* II, 532 The country store-keepers all keep open accounts with the large dealers in Havana.

+COW POISON. *W.* A species of larkspur. 1889. 1851 *De Bow's Rev.* XI, 46 Cow Poison Vine grows short and jointed.

+DAY BOAT. 1857-. 1843 *Merchants' Mag.* IX, 97 She is fitted up as a day or night boat.

++DOG CHURN. A churn operated by dog power. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 310/2 John Farley, of Danville, Vt., advertises a patent 'Dog Churn.' 1853 See quot., above, s.v. *Cat churn.*

+DOLLAR MARK. (1848 Bartlett) 1857-. 1847 *Merchants' Mag.* XVI, 309 The dollar mark is only applied, properly, to the United States coin or currency of that name. *Ibid.*, XVII, 116 In the Merchant's Magazine for March, 1847, we published several statements as to the origin of the dollar (\$) mark.

DRESSING CASE. +A dressing table. 1869-. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 726/1 Fine specimen of Portable Writing Desk and Dressing Case.

+DRY DIGGINGS. *W.* 1850-. 1849 *Merchants' Mag.* XX, 58n He says that he examined two specimens of the metal, one from the district called the 'dry diggings.'

++FARDOWN. A member of an Irish-American faction of laborers. 1834 See quot. s.v. *Corkonian.* 1837 See *DAE* quot. s.v. *Corkonian.*

+FIRE LIMIT. 1893-. 1848 *Merchants' Mag.* XIX, 505 Wooden buildings are not permitted to be built, under present conditions, within what are denominated the fire limits.

FISHY.* +Incredible, improbable. 1861-. 1849 *De Bow's Rev.* VII, 274 Any person should regard the story *fishy* and doubt the residence of so important a personage . . . among the creeks.

FLOATER. +One who has no fixed abode; a wanderer. 1873-. 1858 Thos. S. Woodward, *Reminiscences* (Alabama Book Store: Tuscaloosa, 1939) 49 He was a floater . . . but he located him a tract in the fork of Coosa and Tallapoosa.

+FLOATING PALACE. A luxurious passenger boat. 1835-. 1833 *Am. R.R. Jour.* II, 605/2 A floating palace came into our harbor.

FLYING. Traveling in aircraft. {1864-} 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 791/1 Such is my plan for flying.

FLYING MACHINE. 1851-. {1848-} 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 790/1 {Caption} Travelling Balloon, or Flying Machine.

+GOLDARN. 1885-. 1874 *Southern Mag.* XIV, 119 But goll darn it, a school marm gits me dead.

HANG. *n.* ++In phr. 'to lose the hang of' = 'to lose touch with.' 1857 T. S. Woodward, *Reminiscences* (1939) 6 There are but few of that detachment of Georgians now living. . . . If there are any more of them, it is very few, and I have lost the hang of them.

+HOLY ROLLER. 1893-. 1842 *Southern Quarterly Review* (New Orleans) I, 400 It is a new species of religion, which sprang up . . . contemporaneously with the enthusiasm of the 'Holy Rollers.'

++IMMIGRATION SOCIETY. An association to encourage immigration. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 10 Dec. 2/3 It is our idea that immigration societies are doing us no good.

+IMPROVEMENT CIRCLE. An improvement society, q.v. in *DAE.* 1847 *Merchants' Mag.* XVI, 361 Besides these, clubs are formed, that are denominated 'Improvement Circles.'

++INDIAN COUNTRYMAN. A resident of Indian country. 1858 T. S. Woodward *Reminiscences* (1939) 49 The Indian countryman, John Ward, died in 1813.

+JERSEY CIDER. Champagne of poor quality. Cf. *Jersey lightning* in *DAE.* 1866 *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (New York) III, 11 Aug. 163 Champagne is most popular in America, and yet it is probably the least reliable of all liquors. So poor is its reputation that the common name given to it is 'Jersey Cider.'

+JOHN CHINAMAN. Appellation for a Chinese. 1868-. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 189/1 They are required to . . . ascertain the height of John Chinaman in a breath.

KING.* *n.* Ellip. for +*King Cotton.* 1872-. 1867 *Com. and Fin. Chron.* IV, 22 June 786 A writer from Lee county to the *Columbus Sun* says the 'king' is pretty much dethroned.

++LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT. 1880 *Bradstreet's* 9 Oct. 8/1 Frederick Law Olmstead, the well-known landscape architect . . . read a paper.

+MANUAL TRAINING. 1893-. 1880 *Bradstreet's* 11 Sept. 2/3 Washington University . . . has organized and opened an extensive department for the manual training of youths in . . . the mechanical manufacturing arts.

++MISS NANCYFIED. Prim, sissified. Cf. *Miss Nancyish* in *DAE*. 1874 *Southern Mag.* XIV, 353 Pohl 'Miss-Nancyfied' men!

+NATIVE SON. 1850-. 1833 *Am. R.R. Jour.* II, 510/2 Col. William Drayton . . . a native son of Carolina . . . left our shores.

NEGRO.* *Attrib.* Designating places inhabited by Negroes. 1739-. 1674 Alvord and Bidgood, *Trans-Allegheny Region* (1912) 219 Here they hasted to ye negro town.

++NEGRO BLANKET. A blanket made of heavy, rough fabric. 1846 *Merchants' Mag.* XIV, 599 Tent cloth, heavy tarpaulin cloths, bed and negro blankets, &c., &c.

++NEW CONNECTICUT. *Now hist.* The Western Reserve District. 1837 *DAE* s.v. *Western Reserve*. 1841 *Merchants' Mag.* IV, 475 At the close of fifty years from its first settlement, New Connecticut, as the reserve used to be called, will equal Old Connecticut in population.

+O. K. a. All right. 1840 (Ap. 9)-. 1840 Raleigh (N.C.) *Register* Dec. 1 quoted in G. G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (1937), 184n Go to it tulips! you, at least are O. K. [Exclaimed by a spectator at a horse-race; it is clear evidence of 'O.K.' in North Carolina very early.]

++OLD CONNECTICUT. The present state of Connecticut. 1841 See quot. s. v. *New Connecticut*, above.

ONE HORSE TEAM. A single horse and vehicle. 1853 *Merchants' Mag.* XXVIII, 590 However inartificial the expression may be, yet the phrase 'a one-horse team,' is often used, and expresses a clear idea to the common mind.

+PAPER CITY. 1860-. 1847 *Merchants' Mag.* XIV, 517 In 1835-6, years so

remarkable for speculations in 'paper cities' and 'corner lots,' fortunately but little influence was experienced from the prevailing mania here.

+PECKERWOOD. S. The woodpecker. 1859-. In place name. 1835 Talladega (Ala.) *Daily Home* (28 Feb. 1910) 2/2 From the mouth of Peckerwood creek to the Sulphur Springs.

PERSUADER.* +A pistol. 1844-. 1839 *Merchants' Mag.* I, 41 The *persuader* . . . had a hair-trigger.

++PETER FUNKISM. The practice of by-bidding at auctions. Cf. *Peter Funk* in *DAE*. 1853 *Merchants' Mag.* XXVIII, 649 The *Commercial Register* . . . under the title of '*Peter Funkism in New York*,' relates what it denominates 'a trick in the clothing trade.'

++PINE TREE COINAGE. Cf. *Pine tree money* 1864- and *Pine tree shilling* 1857- in *DAE*. 1849 *Merchants' Mag.* XX, 200 The device of a pine tree upon one side of the shilling has given to the entire series the general designation of 'the pine tree coinage.'

+PLANK ROAD. 1848-. 1847 *Merchants' Mag.* XVI, 368 The plank road system originated in Canada, in 1835.

+PLATFORM SCALE. 1841-. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 726/1 E. & J. Fairbanks, a Concentrated Platform Scale—a diploma.

POST BELLUM. +After the Civil War. 1900-. 1874 *Southern Mag.* XIV, 37 It [Atlanta] looks so little like a *post-bellum* town.

PROPELLER. *n.* +A steamboat driven by a screw propeller. +In appos. use 1845-. 1843 *Merchants' Mag.* VIII, 574 The building of the propeller Hercules is the commencement of a new era in lake navigation. ++Also *attrib.* 1848 *Ibid.*, XVIII, 664 The steamboat and propeller proprietors on the lakes have entered into an agreement.

+PURGING HOUSE. A building housing one of the processes in sugar-making. 1862. 1848 De Bow's *Rev.* VI, 358 Two large purging houses, built of stone and wood.

+ROASTING EAR. 1705-. 1650 Alvord and Bidgood, *Trans-Allegheny Re-*

gion (1912) 123 Some of the Inhabitants came, and brought us roasting eares, and Sturgeon.

+SECRETARY BOOKCASE. 1855-1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 726/1 Premium for Secretary Book Case.

SHINNY. *v. intr.* ++To borrow money. Cf. *shin*, same sense. 1851 *De Bow's Rev.* X, 585 He has never been known to be hard pressed, or obliged to 'shinny,' (as it is sometimes inelegantly called).

SHORTHORN. 1854. {1826} Also attrib. 1848-. 1833 *Am. R.R. Jour.* II, 23/1 A lady [made] some inquiries relative to obtaining some of Mr. Derby's Durham short horn cows. 1833 *Ibid.*, II, 776/3 Dulcibella [is] an imported full bred improved Durham Short Horn.

+SLACK WATER NAVIGATION. 1837-. 1824 *Am. R.R. Jour.* (1832) I, 452/1 Canals, or slack water navigation, can be effected. 1833 *Ibid.*, II, 211/2 This is a series of canal and slackwater navigation.

STEAM PLOW. A plow propelled by steam power. 1849 *De Bow's Rev.* VII, 562 It is, I think, to be called the 'Steam Plow, Land Locomotive, and Machine of all Work.' 1859 A. Lincoln in *The Wisconsin Farmer* (Racine) XI (Nov.), 390 I have thought a good deal, in an abstract way, about a steam plow.

+STOOL PIGEON. A police informer. 1850-. 1849 *Bankers' Mag.* IV, 89 The senior high constable of Philadelphia . . . recollected that Harry White . . . who he had been lately using as a 'stool pigeon,' or secret informer, had informed him . . . that 'a big thing' was coming off shortly.

TELEGRAPH INSTRUMENT. 1876-. 1847 *De Bow's Rev.* IV, 137 We explained the telegraph instrument fully in our number for February.

TELEPHONE. *v. intr.* {1880} 1880 *Bradstreet's* 8 Sept. 3/3 Experiments [led] to the discovery of a mode of telephoning a moderate distance.

TELL TALE. *n.* A mechanical warning device. 1851-. {1832} 1833 *Am. R.R. Jour.* II, 742/1 This apparatus [is] denominated a *Tell-tale*.

TICKER. A telegraphic receiver that

prints messages on a tape. {1883} 1881 *Bradstreet's* 9 July 24/1 Next the little 'ticker' spelt out this momentous message.

TICK OFF. To mark off with a tick or tally. {1861} 1847 *Bankers' Mag.* I, 592 When we proceeded to 'tick off' the checks, there was no other check of J. I. Corner & Sons!

TIGER. *n.* See quot. 1864-. 1848 *De Bow's Rev.* V, 53 I shall now proceed to consider the subject of . . . refining the sugar by means of pneumatic boxes or tigers, as they are called.

TOOTH PASTE. 1848-. 1832 *Am. R.R. Jour.* I, 607/3 Seidlitz Powders, Chloride of Soda, Chlorine Tooth Paste.

++TOPOPHONE. *n.* See quot. 1880 *Bradstreet's* 1 Sept. 4/1 The topophone, invented by Professor A. M. Mayer, devised to ascertain the direction and position of a source of sound . . . has been tested.

TRADE JOURNAL. 1902. 1880 *Bradstreet's* 2 Oct. 16/4 Attention is called to our lists of trade journals.

TROLLOPE. ++*v. intr.* To emulate Mrs. Frances Trollope, English author of a book (1832) which offended many Americans. 1848 *De Bow's Rev.* V, 283 Travelers, male and female . . . come Trolloping over our country, to seek what blemishes they may descry.

TWO.* *n. Ellip.* ++A two-dollar bill. 1849 *Bankers' Mag.* IV, 490 About two years ago, a batch of counterfeit bills . . . (tens, fives, twos) made their appearance. 1853 *Ibid.*, VIII, 270 The twos have upon the face of the vignette two gold dollars.

TYPE SETTER. A machine to set type in place for printing. 1846 *De Bow's Rev.* II, 110 The type setter, a similar instrument, is an improvement upon previous attempts to adjust letters by machinery.

TYPE SETTING MACHINE = Prec. 1864-. {1888} 1848 *De Bow's Rev.* VI, 52 But the printer is too important . . . to have his usefulness set aside by the multiplication of type-setting and press-working machines.

++VIG. *n.* [fr. *vigilante*]. A member of a vigilante band. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 10 Dec.

1/3 It is supposed by the law-abiding part of the community that the action of the 'vigs' will have a very salutary effect.

++WAGON TRADE. The trade of rural people, who come to town in wagons. 1851 De Bow's *Rev.* XI, 429 How much the present wagon trade will be increased by plank roads, is a fruitful and interesting theme for speculation. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 24 Dec. 3/1 A falling off in the wagon trade with people living near was noticed.

+WASHINGTON MONUMENT. 1886. 1849 *Merchants' Mag.* XXI, 465 An examination of the strength of the various kinds of marble intended for the Washington Monument, was made a short time ago at Washington.

+WATER LOT. 2. 1891. 1852 *Merchants' Mag.* XXVII, 81 There have been no active movements in 'water lots' or fancy building sites in 'cities' not yet incorporated.

+WET DIGGINGS. *W.* 1884-. 1850 *Merchants' Mag.* XXIII, 684 They are called 'dry' in contra-distinction to the 'wet' diggings, or those lying on the banks of streams.

+WET WEATHER SPRING. An intermittent spring. 1901. 1858 T. S. Woodward, *Reminiscences* (1939) 157 Fortunately, we found a little wet-weather spring near the top.

WHITE LABOR. White, in contrast to Negro, laborers. 1848 De Bow's *Rev.* V,

532 White labor is alone employed. 1879 *Bradstreet's* 25 Oct. 2/3 Fully one-half of this year's crops in this state have been raised by white labor. *Ibid.*, 10 Dec. 2/3 The supply of white labor is sufficient.

+WOLFY. *a.* Wolflike, fierce. 1837-. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 304/2 Why you make me feel all sort of wolffy.

++WRITING MACHINE. A typewriter. 1846 De Bow's *Rev.* II, 110 A writing machine is also detailed, furnishing the means of communicating one's thoughts to paper, by simply sitting in front of a set of keys and touching those corresponding with particular letters.

YEAST BREAD. 1864-. 1853 *Southern Ladies Book* (New Orleans) I, 130 The chicks in the free states live on yeast bread.

YELLOW COVERED. *a.* Of a publication: +Depending for effect upon sensationalism. 1858-. 1849 *Merchants' Mag.* XX, 118 Hard by them the yellow-covered literature of the day—translations from the French, no way improved in morals by their translation from sparkling Parisian to slow coach English.

YORK CHEAT. See quot. 1834 *Am. R.R. Jour.* III, 184/3 This corn was named York Cheat, because it was said to have been ground with wheat . . . when it could not be detected by the color of the flour.

THE MINIMIZING DOWNSHIP

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CERTAIN of the semantic devices of intonation are a good deal more constant and specific than others. One of the most constant and specific is that of the wide downskip used for minimization. It is also one of the easiest to treat because of the fact that it is frequently encountered alone and on short phrases which leave no doubt as to exactly what shade of meaning the intonation contributes.

By 'downskip' in contrast to 'downglide' is meant a downward movement of pitch in which the glide, if any is present, is incidental and non-distinctive. The upper tone and the lower tone (themselves pure or slightly moving) are what the speaker intends to be heard side by side, and the extremely rapid motion between these two foci of sound is, if present at all, only the accident of getting from one point to the other.¹

As with other tonal devices, the meaning of this one is extremely broad; it does not refer particularly to contemptuous minimization, to self-deprecating minimization, or to reassuring minimization, but may suggest any of these, and more, depending on the locution that it colors and in part on accessory tonal elements. It enables us to fill in the empty spaces between our words, and make one synonym shade continuously into the next—this is, in fact, one of the principal uses of symbolic intonation: to make our language a continuum, and prevent the merely verbal combinations from being too discrete.

A good non-emotional locution with which to test the downskip is *a few*. This divides the range of 'a small quantity' with *some*, and, since the range is fairly wide, we often need to fill it with other than verbal devices. Observe the shadings that may be got with *a few* by intoning it in three different ways: first, with narrow upmotion on *few* beginning in the middle of the syllable: *a fe/w*; second, with a slight rise, followed by a fall and a rise, the curve resembling that of the sign for similarity, ~ or tilde; third, with a wide downskip, beginning with *a* in falsetto and dropping immediately to *few* at least an octave lower, and giving *few* either a steady tone or a slight rise. By contrast with the other contours, the downskip unmistakably reduces the quantity symbolized by *a few*. Intoning *some* in the same three ways gives similar results; the effect of dividing the syllable into two halves by a downskip (and this time the slight rise at the end of the syllable is necessary) is to make the word

1. For experimental tests of such skip intervals, see A. R. Root, 'Pitch Patterns and Tonal Movement in Speech,' *Psychological Monographs*, 1930, pp. 128-129.

suggest 'some, but not too much,' or 'some, but nothing to brag about.' The customary intonation for *just a few* and *only a few* is always with downmotion, and the wider and more rapid the downmotion is, the more it approaches a downskip, the more it minimizes. A negative test is to try to intone *a lot* in the same way, with *a* in falsetto and *lot* between an octave and two octaves lower; the result is incongruous. *Not many*, however, fits admirably, as does *a dollar* meaning 'just a dollar.'

Most other locutions are less neutral, and the minimization acquires a greater or less degree of emotional import. It is as if we were flooding red light on a variety of objects each with its own shade; the resulting effects are infinitely various, but there is an underlying similarity, that of red, or the 'minimization constant.' In the following examples with a wide downskip (or, occasionally, skips), start preferably in falsetto, in order to get the maximum effect. The skip is marked with a period; the dash between quotations represents connected discourse; italics are used wherever only a portion of the phrase is affected.

(1) REASSURANCE (minimization of another person's fears). 'Will he be here all right? You think he got through safely?'—'*Of · course.*' 'No · harm done.' 'You can de·pend on · me.' 'It's · only the · wind.' 'It's · easier to · do than you · think.' 'Do they really care about me? Are you sure it isn't just my friends who want me to take part in the play?'—'*They all · do.*' 'I just don't see how we can ever make it on time. It's eleven o'clock now, and—' —'*Maybe we will · be a little late, but it · can't be helped; and be·sides, who's going to care?*' 'Just · do it the · best you · can.'²

(2) COMFORT (minimization of another's distress). Here not only is the nuance of minimization present, but the utterance must also be soothing; consequently the pace is rather slow. 'There · there.' 'Don't · fret.' 'Take it · easy.' '*Just this little · swallow* (of medicine) and you'll feel fine.'

(3) RESTRAINT (minimization of another's impatience, often coupled with the speaker's own impatience). The pace is somewhat slow. 'Now · now.' 'Just a · minute.' 'Keep your · shirt on.' 'All · right.' 'Never · mind.' 'We'll be · ready.' 'Just be · patient.' 'Calm · down.' 'This · way'—acquiescing in another's impatient demand. 'Let's · not be · hasty.'

2. This particular nuance was recognized by H. O. Coleman, *Miscellanea Phonetica*, 1914, who called it the 'intonation of encouragement.' He gives the examples 'Cheer · up' and 'Nev·er mind,' with an upmoving close. H. E. Palmer (*English Intonation*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 84) uses the description 'reassuring,' but misses the more general significance of the downskip, defines the 'tone group' as having an upmoving close (which, for this meaning, is not essential), and limits it to non-questions (which is controverted by the common example 'What · for?' with an upmoving close).

'After · while.' In this, as also in the following three groups, it is evident that the simulation of weariness also contributes its shading.

(4) IMPATIENCE (toward something whose value to himself the speaker minimizes). The upper tone tends to be drawled, and the pace is slow. 'A·gain.' 'Good · Lord.' 'That's e·nough.' 'I'll · buy'—in a game of bridge.

(5) DEPRECIATION (setting a low value on something that another does, says, or values highly). The pace is slow, and the lower tone tends to be drawled. 'What · for?' 'Not · that.' 'That's · nothing.' 'Who · cares?' 'Why · should I?' 'What's the · difference?'

(6) DISCOURAGEMENT (minimization of the value of effort). The pace is slow. 'What's the · use.' 'How · can I?' 'I · tried.' 'It *just won't · work*.' 'You · take it; I'm all tuckered out.'³

(7) LACK OF ENTHUSIASM (boredom, condescension, etc.). The pace is somewhat faster. 'Not · bad.' 'It's · fair.' 'It'll · do.' 'Ho · hum.' 'I'll · bite.' 'Can't be much, but *let's · see it*.' 'Could be · worse.' 'He's a · good fellow.' 'What did you · do?'—the speaker has no interest in hearing the story.

(8) ACQUIESCENCE (minimization of one's own or another's objections to something). The pace is fast and the ending is very low. 'He should have known better. *An·ybody can see that*.'—'*Nat·urally!*' 'Will you do it?'—[pause]—'*Ye·s*. I was going to say no, but I'll accept.' 'Do you object?'—'*Not at · all*.' 'Why · not?' 'I'll · do it'—stress on *do*. 'That's · right.' 'I'll · look for one if you like'—with stress on *look* and upmotion on *like*.

(9) DISMISSAL (minimization of any further argument). Since this has an admixture of finality, the lower tone is a glide which descends very low (but does not begin until after the downskip). 'Not a *penny · more*.' 'That's *all there is · to it*'—stress on *to*. 'No I · won't.' 'Just you · wait.' 'Af·ter · all.' 'You · know'—with *know* drawled—a common answer to an over-insistent questioner. 'I'll · show him' (no glide). 'You'll · see' (no glide).

(10) REASONABLENESS (minimization of one's own importance, the importance of one's own request, favor, demand, argument, etc.). The pace is fast, and there is no glide. '*The·re*. That's all we had to do. Wasn't it easy?' '*No·o*. I don't mean to be insistent, but my point is—' 'Yes, I understand that he did it; but *ho·w?*' 'Not here. Over there. *Lo·ok!*' 'Real·ly.' 'I · don't know'—expressing polite disbelief. 'That's · not fair'—appealing to another's sense of justice.

3. Coleman's (*op. cit.*) characterization of the tone in 'What a day! *It's like · summer*' as connoting 'despair' of adequate description is an interesting confirmation.

These are but variations on the same theme. The classification could be further subdivided as this or that locution or group of locutions varies the shading, but the wide downskip provides an undertone—call it minimization or use some other term that comprehends this general mood; it makes little difference—that is constant in spite of the logical gap that it must span: wide at times, as between ‘a few’ and ‘ho, hum.’

The scrupulously descriptive linguist might be content to stop at this point; the phenomenon has been described, he would say, and further ratiocination will probably result in empty speculation. Such reasoning is not, however, as sound when one deals with intonation as when one deals with words and syllables. Words do blend, of course, into a more or less smoothly flowing stream; but they lend themselves far more to division into definite and (at their particular level) irreducible elements than do the tones of the voice. Up to a point they *make* their own classification. With tone, where to begin measuring and where to stop is not at all clearly marked for us. One can say ‘Begin with the breath group and end with it’; but breath groups are like porridge. They are never twice the same, even when they are meant to be; and if we do not set about analyzing the recipe, the product must be called by a different name every time it is mixed. My description of the downskip does not stand or fall by the very tentative remarks that follow, but I shall offer them anyway for what light they may shed.

The downskip consists principally of two tones, one near the top of the range, the other near the bottom. Do they have separate functions that can be observed in other relationships as well?

Taking the extreme example, in which the upper tone is in falsetto and the lower in that narrow range below the lowest singing tone, which I call ‘lowvoice,’ separate functions can readily be discerned. That of lowvoice is chiefly to symbolize indifference. It is limited in use by its weak audibility; but persons close to each other may be heard using it undiluted for certain vocables (such as *aw*, *no*, *well*) which under the circumstances can be understood without being fully articulated; and under other circumstances it may be *approached* by a low singing tone, with much the same results as far as meaning is concerned. One may say then that ‘lowvoiceward’ intonation symbolizes indifference. This is to be taken as applying to sounds that begin and end in that range, not to glides that start higher and move down, which tend, rather, to symbolize conclusiveness.

The falsetto is observed in other settings to contribute a nuance of sweetness or agreeableness. It is not often used alone, but can be studied in connexion with the simple upglide in questions and with the hump-

shaped profile of some statements. As an example of the latter, take the argument '/Because I *have* * to,' with a slow upglide to *I* and then a wide skip into falsetto for *have* followed by a drop back to the original level on *to*. The reader will note the nuance of pleading-agreeableness-obviousness contributed by the falsetto, a nuance that is entirely absent if *have* merely continues the slow preceding upglide. In the simple upglide '-Aren't you /coming?' where the upmotion starts with *com-* after which there is again a wide skip into falsetto for *-ing*, the nuance of agreeableness is again present, but is entirely lost if *-ing* merely continues the slow upmotion of *com-*. It is not contended that the falsetto *must* have this shade of meaning; it usually *does* have it when the voice does not move steadily into falsetto but skips to it. And, as with low-voice, a 'falsettoward' intonation may shade into agreeableness whether or not the falsetto is actually reached. We are compelled to use the extremes as our examples, to get our colors as brilliant and as nearly pure as we can, lest their qualities be lost in a welter of counter-shadings.

The extreme downskip, then, consists of falsetto, lowvoice, and rapid downmotion, with a minimum of appreciable glide. Eliminating or reducing falsetto eliminates or reduces proportionately the nuance of agreeableness. Raising the low tone reduces proportionately the element of indifference. As the middle range of chest tones is approached, 'minimization' fades entirely, for that range has its own semantic functions.

How does this square with the physiological basis of intonation? Viewing the ups and downs of tone as a succession of tension and relaxation, we immediately see that 'minimization,' 'nothing to be excited about,' can, if the now more or less arbitrary symbolism retains anything of its biological matrix, move only downward, in the direction of relaxation.

The tonal-verbal complex is overlaid by gesture. Taking some examples from the ten classes above, we have 'You'll · see' with a 'knowing' look; 'That's · nothing' with a pursing of the lower lip; 'Who · cares?' with a shrug of the shoulders, and so forth. I allude to the fact merely by way of showing that the lack of specificity on the part of intonation—minimizations of so many different kinds—comes partly from our dependence upon other clues to make the necessary distinctions.

DU PRATZ'S HISTORY OF LOUISIANA (1763), A SOURCE OF AMERICANISMS, ESPECIALLY OF THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO IMLAY

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IN THE year 1763, Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758) appeared in London, translated anonymously and in abridged form, 'with some Notes and Observations relating to our Colonies,' under the title *The History of Louisiana* [etc.]. Investigation discloses that the third edition of Gilbert Imlay's *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (1797) has borrowed extensively, but tacitly, from these English volumes.

This paper will endeavor to show, first, that a large majority of the words cited in the DAE as first or early occurrences in the third edition of Imlay are found in passages borrowed literally from the English Du Pratz. Secondly, I shall submit other words from the English translation which seem to indicate first, very early, or historically interesting occurrences of terms which are apparently Americanisms.

All quotations from Imlay are from *Western Territory* (3 ed.) 1797. 'Du Pratz' indicates the translation of Du Pratz's book. The original French text will be referred to as '*Du Pratz*.' An asterisk preceding a word indicates that the identical form occurs in the French original.

I

Acacia. The North American locust tree. DAE quotes Imlay 269: 'The acacia is the same in Louisiana as in France, much more common, and less straight. The natives . . . make their bows of it.' Du Pratz II, 30: 'The *Acacia* (*Locust*) is the same in *Louisiana* as in *France*, much more common, and less streight. The natives . . . make their bows of it.' Du Pratz II, 40: 'L'Agacia.'

Appalachian bean. (See quotation.) DAE has as its only quotation Imlay 239 'The appalachian beans are so called because they were obtained from a nation of natives of that name. . . . These beans boil tender, are tolerably well tasted, but are sweetish, and rather insipid.' Du Pratz II, 7: 'The *Apalachean* beans are so called because we received them from a nation of natives of that name. . . . These beans boil tender, and have a tolerable relish, but they are sweetish, and somewhat insipid.' Du Pratz II, 9: 'Les Féves Apalaches.'

**Copalm*. The sweet gum tree. DAE quotes Imlay 277: 'The liquidambar, copalm, or maple-leaved storax, is not only extremely common,

but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite.' Du Pratz II, 22: 'The *Sweet-Gum*, or *Liquid-Ambar* (*Copalm*) is not only extremely common, but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite.'

Cotton tree. A species of poplar. DAE quotes Imlay 269: 'The cotton tree (a poplar) is a large tree which nowise deserves the name it bears, unless for some beards that it throws out.' Du Pratz II, 30: 'The *Cotton-tree* (a *poplar*) is a large tree which no wise deserves the name it bears, unless for some beards that it throws out.'

**Esquine*. DAE has: '[*Esquine*.[F.] American chinaroot, *Smilax pseudo-china* 1797 Imlay . . . 256 Besides the sudorific virtue which the esquine possesses in common with the sarsaparilla, it has the property of making the hair to grow.' Du Pratz II, 41: 'Besides the sudorific virtue which the *Esquine* possesses in common with the Salsaparilla, it has the property of making the hair grow.' Thus we can remove the symbol || from the DAE, since the above proves that the word is by no means 'an individualism.'

Hanger. DAE: '+1. A building in which tobacco is cured. . . . 1797 Imlay . . . 246 Care must be taken to have ready a hanger (or tobacco house) . . . [built in] the form of a house of an oblong square . . . , and covered with cypress bark, or palmetto leaves.' Du Pratz I, 351: 'You must take care to have ready a *hanger* (or *tobacco-house*) . . . making thus the form of a house of an oblong square . . . and cover . . . with cypress-bark, or palmetto-leaves.' The original of this passage is not found in *Du Pratz* but has been added by the translator from *Mémoires sur La Louisiane* by M. Dumont (Paris, 1753), where the word used is 'L'hanger' (I, 38ff.).

Muscadine grape. DAE's first citation is Imlay 266: 'Muscadine grapes, of an amber colour, of a very good kind, and very sweet, have been found upon declivities of a good exposure, even as far north as lat. 31.' Du Pratz II, 14: 'Muscadine grapes, of an amber colour, of a very good kind and very sweet, have been found upon declivities of a good exposure, even as far north as the latitude of 31 degrees.'

Myrtle wax tree. DAE quotes Imlay 271: 'The myrtle wax tree is one of the greatest blessings with which nature has enriched Louisiana.' Du Pratz II, 27: 'The *Myrtle Wax-tree* is one of the greatest blessings with which nature has enriched *Louisiana*.'

Palmetto-leaf. DAE quotes the passage already discussed under *hanger*, *supra*.

Sagamite. DAE quotes Imlay 236: '[Maize] is eaten different ways: the most common method is to make it into sagamity, which is a kind

of gruel made with water, or strong broth.' Du Pratz I, 307: 'This grain [maize] they eat in many different ways; the most common method is to make it into *Sagamity*, which is a kind of gruel made with water, or strong broth.' Du Pratz III, 345: 'Sagamité.'

II

Burgo-breaker. (See quotation.) Du Pratz II, 103: 'The *Burgo-Breaker* is an excellent fish. . . . In its throat it has two bones with a surface like that of a file to break the shell-fish named *Burgo*.' Du Pratz II, 153, calls this fish 'Casse-Burgo.' This has been transformed into the name, now current in South-Louisiana English, *gaspergou*. For details see W. A. Read, *Louisiana-French* (Louisiana State University Press, 1931), p. 22 f.

**Calinda*. DAE has its earliest quotation (1880) from Cable's *Grandis-simes*, p. 121. Du Pratz II, 271: 'Under pretence of *Calinda* or the dance, they [the negroes] sometimes get together to the number of three or four hundred, and make a kind of *Sabbath*.'

Camp. DAE n. 1. +d offers its earliest citation dated 1839. I have offered a citation from Sealsfield's *Pflanzerleben I* (1836), p. 7, which explains the word as 'Negerdorf' (*American Speech*, 16: 106, April 1941). Du Pratz I, 132: 'I went that very evening to the camp of the *Negroes*, and from hut to hut'; II, 262: 'It is proper to have in their [the negroes'] camp a bathing place. . . . The negro camp ought to be inclosed all around with palisades.' Du Pratz has 'camp' in each of these three cases (III, 306 f., and I, 342, respectively). In each case it is clear that the author refers to the slave quarters. In the volume *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi, ou des Provinces de Louisiane et Florida, Occidentale, en l' année, 1802* (B—— Duvalon, Éditeur, Paris, 1803), p. 268, we find the following interesting passage: 'Comme on traversait ce qu' on appelle improprement en ce pays, *le camp*, qui est, l' endroit où sont posées les cabanes à nègres, à une petite distance les unes des autres.'

Campeachy wood. Not in DAE, but NED has 'The red dye wood . . . better known as Logwood,' with its first quotation, 1686, *London Gazette*, No. 2186/1. Du Pratz I, 340: 'Campeachy wood, which is generally worth from ten to fifteen the hundred weight.' Du Pratz III, 390: 'Bois de Campêche.'

**Carancro*. Turkey buzzard. Not in DAE. I cited Sealsfield's *Pflanzerleben II* (1836), p. 76, where we are informed that this term is 'Die creolische Benennung der Turkey-Buzzards' (*American Speech*, 16: 108, April 1941). Du Pratz II, 77: 'The *Carrion-Crow*, or *Turkey-Bustard*.

. . . Several people maintain, that the *Carrion-Crow*, or *Carancro*, is the same as our *Vulture*.' Du Pratz II, 112: 'Plusieurs tiennent que le Carancro est notre Vautour.'

Choupic. (See quotation.) Du Pratz II, 104: 'The *Choupic* is a very beautiful fish; many people mistake it for a trout.' Du Pratz II, 155: 'Le Tchoupic.' As a pre-school boy in New Orleans this word was as familiar to me as 'green-trout' (black bass), 'gaspergou,' or perch. It is pronounced by the English-speaking natives 'shoe-pick.'

Egret. (See quotation.) DAE has first citation 1828. Du Pratz II, 82: 'The *Egret*, or *White Heron*, is so called from tufts of feathers upon its wings near the body.'

Flat-root. A variety of herb. Not in DAE. Du Pratz II, 42: 'The *Flat-Root* receives its name from the form of its root, which is thin, flat, and pretty often indented.' Imlay 255 copies Du Pratz verbatim.

Frigate-bird. DAE 1850 and later. Du Pratz II, 83: 'The *Frigate-bird* is a large bird, which in the day-time keeps itself in the air above the shore of the sea.'

**Grain*. Funk and Wagnalls has: 'A wind squall.' Du Pratz I, 22: 'It is necessary to wait some days, till a *grain*, or squall, brings back the wind: A *grain* is a small spot seen in the air, which spreads very fast, and forms a cloud, that gives a wind, which is brisk at first, but not lasting.'

Gris gris. (See quotation.) Du Pratz II, 255: 'They [the negroes] are very superstitious, and are much attached to their prejudices, and little toys which they call *gris, gris*.' Du Pratz I, 334: '*gris-gris*.' This expression, pronounced in English 'gree gree' (as in agree), is very common in South Louisiana. It is used not only to designate talismans and voodoo (colloquial New Orleans *hoodoo*) tokens, but also for any charm, sign or incantation designed to bring bad luck. Thus 'to make *gris gris* over a person's head' means to make a sign with the hands, *etc.*, intended to invoke misfortune. (See Lyle Saxon, *Fabulous New Orleans*, New York, 1938, pp. 243, 245 f.)

Hut. v. reflex. To hide, hibernate, house. Du Pratz II, 61: 'The bear, when he is fat, huts himself, that is, retires into the hollow trunk of some rotten tree.' Du Pratz II, 86: 'Les Ours se cabanent, c'est-à-dire, se mertent dans de vieux troncs d' arbres morts sur pied.'

Indian cherry. Not in DAE. Du Pratz II, 16: 'The small cherries, called *Indian cherries*, are frequent in this country.'

Limburg. A kind of cloth. Du Pratz I, 119: 'Red and blue *Limburgs*, shirts, fusils, sabres . . .'; II, 230: 'The women wear only half a yard of

limbourg stuff about their middle.' *Du Pratz* III, 192 and II, 191, respectively, 'limbourg.'

Lion's mouth. Any one of various long-lipped flowers as snap-dragon, foxglove, etc. DAE has: '1773 *Hist. British Dom. N. Amer.* II. 189 The flower called lion's-mouth . . . forms a sweet nosegay of itself, and is worthy the gardens of kings.' This seems to owe something to *Du Pratz* II, 47: 'The flower called *Lion's Mouth* . . . It forms of itself an agreeable nose-gay; and . . . deserves . . . to be cultivated . . . in the gardens of our kings.'

**Maron.* A fugitive negro slave. DAE, 1821. *Du Pratz* II, 254: 'Several of them [negro slaves] have deserted (which they call making themselves *Marons*).' *Du Pratz* I, 334.

Pawpaw. DAE 1764, 1787. *Du Pratz* II, 16: 'The *Pawpaws* are only to be found far up in *Higher Louisiana*.'

Pope. The painted bunting. DAE, 1781. *Du Pratz* II, 93: 'The *Pope* is a bird that has a red and black plumage.' *Du Pratz* II, 139: 'Le Pape.' Prof. Read has a good treatment of the word in his *Louisiana-French*, p. 55 f. The English-speaking people of New Orleans call the bird 'pop.' As a boy I went 'popping' (trapping 'pops') in the 'sticks' (reeds, canes, weeds ten feet high) within the city limits of New Orleans. The term 'red-pop' (perhaps partly with reference to the *pape rouge*, partly a contamination of 'red-top') is a colloquial nickname common in New Orleans for a redheaded person.

Rattle-snake-herb. DAE has merely a citation of the expression from *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1736. NED has a quotation from 1861. *Du Pratz* II, 43, describes the herb thus: 'The *Rattle-snake-herb* has a bulbous root, like that of a tuberose, but twice as large. The leaves of both have the same shape and the same colour, and on the under side have some flame-coloured spots,' etc. Imlay, p. 255, in describing *Senega rattle snake root*, copies the *Du Pratz* passage, practically word for word and in its entirety.

Saw-bill. A bird with a serrated bill. DAE 1827: 'McKenney *Tour to Lakes* 249 The ducks we have seen are all . . . , of one species. They are the saw-bill.' *Du Pratz* I, 40: 'Shot nothing but what was fit for our provisions; such as wild ducks, summer ducks, teal, and saw-bills.'

Spanish beard. Spanish moss. DAE 1784. *Du Pratz* II, 37: 'The other excrescence is commonly found upon trees near the banks of rivers and lakes. It is called *Spanish beard*.' *Du Pratz* II, 51: 'Barbe Espagnole.' As early as 1699 Pénicaud calls this excrescence '*Barbe à l'Espagnole*.' (Cf. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 4.)



Spatula.¹ The roseate spoonbill. Not in DAE. Du Pratz II, 81: 'The *Spatula* has its name from the form of its bill, which is about seven or eight inches long, an inch broad towards the head, and two inches and a half towards the extremity.'

Spatula.² The spoon-bill catfish. Du Pratz II, 104: 'The *Spatula* is so called, because from its snout a substance extends about a foot in length in the form of an apothecary's spatula.' (See Read, *op. cit.*, p. 72.)

Stinkard. (See quotation.) Du Pratz II, 202: 'The nation of the *Natches* is composed of nobility and common people. The common people are named . . . *Stinkards*.' DAE has a quotation which suggests the above: '1777 W. Robertson *Hist. Amer.* I, iv, 344 Among the Natchez . . . some families were reputed noble . . . The body of the people were considered vile. The former were called Respectable, the latter the Stinkards.'

**Tafia*. A kind of rum. DAE has a quotation from 1775, Adair *Indians* 260. Du Pratz II, 266: 'At night you shall have a cup of *Tafia* (or rum) to give you strength and spirits.'

WHITTIER'S RHYMES

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WHITTIER's rhymes have been given passing examination, little more. They have never been made the subject of analysis.¹ And to speak disparagingly of them has become almost a commonplace. For decades, literary historians and critics such as C. F. Richardson, Barrett Wendell, and W. P. Trent have characterized them as 'excruciating,' 'slovenly,' 'abominable,' and 'careless.' Lowell might be said to have started what developed into a conventional attitude when he wrote in *A Fable for Critics* (ll. 166-171):

Let his mind once get head in its favorite direction
And the torrent of verse bursts the dam of reflection,
While, borne with the rush of the meter along,
The poet may chance to go right or go wrong,
Content with the whirl and delirium of song;
Then his grammar's not always correct, nor his rhymes. . . .

And Whittier himself was aware of his shortcomings, for he admitted them in the 'Proem' to the 1847 edition of his poems:

The rigor of a frozen clime,
The harshness of an untaught ear,
The jarring words of one whose rhyme
Beat often Labor's hurried time,
Or Duty's rugged march through storm and strife, are here.

Whittier evinced again his awareness of his own 'verbal infelicities' in his *Poems* of 1857 and reiterated his apologies in his collected poems of 1892, the year of his death. Although his handling of verse changed little with the years, he welcomed criticism and wished always to improve.

Two explanations may be suggested for Whittier's derelictions: the strong emotion behind the writing of many of his occasional pieces, such as, for instance, those on slavery; and the lack of discipline resulting from his meager amount of formal education. A large number of his faulty rhymes may, however, be attributed to what critics usually term 'mispronunciation' but may more accurately be called 'regional pronunciation.' Many of his commonly condemned rhymes are valid ones if uttered according to the prevailing pronunciation of his own district. He used numerous imperfect rhymes, but not all the apparently faulty ones should be censured at first sight. He once described them himself as ' . . . good Yankee rhymes, but out of New England they would be

1. Gay W. Allen, *American Prosody* (1935) examines Whittier's metrics and verse forms carefully but devotes a few lines only to his rhymes.

cashiered.' When trying to evaluate Whittier's rhymes, let us examine first those which look faulty to the eye and which seem faulty to the ear of one not used to his regional pronunciation. Some of his pronunciations, indeed, are not obsolete with the New England of his day but are still heard along the Eastern seaboard.

In Whittier's usage, a number of words in *-orn* are made to rhyme with words ending in *-awn*. For instance, in 'Cassandra Southwick' one finds the lines,

I looked on haughty Endicott; with weapon halfway drawn,
Swept round the throng his lion glare of bitter hate and scorn.

And in 'The New Home,'

The hunter leaning on his bow undrawn—
Squaws in the clearing dropping the seed-corn.

Rhymes of this kind recur frequently: *thorn*, *horn*, *forlorn*, *born*, *worn* and *gone*; *scorning* and *fawning*; *morning* and *dawning*.

Another group consists of words ending in *-arm* made to rhyme with those ending in *-alm*. Examples of such a practice are *arms*, *palms*; *charms*, *psalms*; and, from 'The Bashaba':

'But, father!'—and the Indian's hand
Fell gently on the white man's arm,
And with a smile as shrewdly bland
As the deep voice is slow and calm—

In 'Mogg Megone' he rhymes *war*, *squaw*. Other rhymes of this type are *law*, *saw*, *war*; *saw*, *for*; *awe*, *Hor*.

A third type of 'mispronunciation' is to be found in words ending in *-urse* which rhyme with *us*—for example, *curse*, *thus* and *us*—while a fourth type is illustrated by the following lines from 'The Bashaba':

There his spoils of chase and war,
Jaw of wolf and black bear's paw,
Panther's skin and eagle's claw. . . .

Still other rhyme-pairs permissible in the ears of those who 'soften' or 'drop' their 'r's' are illustrated in the couplet from 'Mogg Megone,'

And trample, as a thing accursed,
The cross he cherished in the dust,

and in the three-lined stanza from 'Lines Written in the Book of a Friend,'

Sad mothers mourning o'er their trust,
Children by want and misery nursed,
Tasting life's bitter cup at first.

In 'Mogg Megone' occurs the rhyme *accursed*, *lust*. Elsewhere he

rhymes *first, dust, thrust*. When, however, Whittier wrote in 'The Merrimac,'

And Autumn's rainbow-tinted banner
Hang lightly o'er the Susquehanna . . .

one cannot tell whether he was dropping the *r* from *banner* or adding it to *Susquehanna*. Either would be good New England practice, as would also *war, paw-r* in the examples cited before.

The words *sacrifice* and *Paradise*, the preferred pronunciation of which calls today for a sibilant *s*, must have been pronounced by Whittier with the *z* sound, for with the former he rhymes *eyes, lies, skies, rise, guise*; and with the latter such words as *skies*.

Whittier also frequently rhymes voiced with unvoiced consonants; e.g. *eyes, price; refuse, noose; dies, suffice; blazes, places; wreath, death*.

Turning from consonants to vowels, we come upon a kind of rhyme which has probably done violence to the ears of some, that of rhyming *toil* and *soil* with words such as *isle* or *while*. Whittier had, nevertheless, honorable precedent for what is currently considered bad blundering in rhyme. The interchange of pronunciations like *join* and *jine* was standard from the sixteenth century onward into the eighteenth. In 'Venus and Adonis' Shakespeare rhymed *groin* and *swine*, in 'The Campaign' Addison rhymed *find* and *joined*, and the poetry of Dryden, Pope, Gray, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron affords examples of the same usage. By Cooper's time, Leatherstocking's *ch'ice* and *p'izen* counted as dialectal. Whittier's rhyme of *line* and *join* has a background.

Other of Whittier's vowels indicate archaic regional pronunciation, such as the rhyming of *haunt, chant; want, aslant; wants, grants; was, cause; pretty, Jettie*. Today the preferred pronunciation of *hearth* calls for the *a* of *star*; but with it Whittier rhymed such words as *earth, dearth* and *mirth*.

Words having *ew* and *u* Whittier used consistently as having the sound of *oo* in *food* instead of the *u* of *tune*, regardless of whether or not the initial consonant is followed by *l* or *r*. Examples are: *dew, through; knew, true, blue; view, to; renewed, rued*. He did however rhyme *news* and *muse*. In another group may be cited such instances as *tune, moon, soon, afternoon; tunes, pantaloons; June, moon*. For words ending in *-ude*, he sometimes found an *oo* rhyme, such as in *solitudes, broods; pursued, food*. But most commonly he used the shortened sound, as in *multitude, understood, good* (or did he perhaps pronounce *good* as in older usage, rhyming with *mood*?); *solitude, gratitude, rectitude, good; latitude, quietude, habitude, rude, wood*. Sometimes, however, he used the completely unrounded sound, as in *gratitude, blood*. The last two

types of *-ude* rhyme-pairs could not, I fear, be attributed to regional pronunciation, but would have to be termed arbitrary if not careless.

Whittier took liberties with standard pronunciation in the lines from 'Mogg Megone,'

'This—this!'—he dashes his hand upon
The rattling stock of his loaded gun.

But, whereas *upon* and *Lebanon* would probably constitute a rhyme generally acceptable, *sun*, *on* probably would not. As frequently happens, Whittier is not always consistent here, for he rhymes *whereupon* and *shone*. An archaic pronunciation of *shone* with open *o*, rhyming with *gone*, still lingers in England, though late dictionaries give it up.

Although he occasionally rhymed words like *righteousness* and *express*, Whittier often rhymed *-ness* with a word ending with an *-is* sound; e.g. *loveliness*, *wilderness*, *selfishness*, *this*; *selfishness*, *wilderness*, *abyss*; *self-consciousness*, *bliss*.

Possibly the most interesting, however, of Whittier's fluctuations of pronunciation is to be found in his handling of the two words *again* and *been*, to both of which he gave two pronunciations, though favoring one in each case. *Again* he commonly rhymed with such words as *chain*, *fane*, *grain*, *lain*, *pain*, *pane*, *ta'en*, *strain*, *rein*, as in standard British usage. But sometimes he gave it the short *e* sound and rhymed it with *men* and *glen*. The former pronunciation is almost universal in poetry, but the latter is the usual American pronunciation and ranks with us as standard.

The famous couplet from 'Maud Muller,'

For of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these: 'It might have been!'

has caused much comment. It preserves the sub-standard regional pronunciation Whittier knew. Alfred Kreyborg said of it, 'The Harvard "graduates" must have groaned at this rhyme.' More than once Whittier rhymes *been* with *men*, and a second time with *pen*. But he rhymes it too with *seen*, in the standard British English manner. 'Maud Muller' affords a good example of his combining the two familiar words under discussion when, after rhyming *again* with *pain* and *rein*, he rhymes it in its shortened form in the couplet:

Then she took up her burden of life again
Saying only 'It might have been.'

This one poem illustrates very well Whittier's fluctuations of pronunciation-usage. Very rarely does he rhyme *been* with its usual American pronunciation, as when he pairs it with *within*.

Upon the words *Lord* and *God*, Whittier wrought some interesting

variations. To such rhymes as *Lord*, *abhorred*, *sward*, no one could object, for they are perfect no matter how they are pronounced. But Whittier's *Lord* and *word* are only visual rhymes to most people; while *Lord*, *bird*, *heard* would surely have to be categorized as 'suspended';² but if one deletes *r* from *Lord* it may perhaps rhyme acceptably with *broad*, *abroad*, and *unawed*, as in the normal pronunciation of many Londoners.

C. F. Richardson³ has called attention to the fact that such poets as Wordsworth and the facile Swinburne had so much difficulty with rhymes for *God* that they relied heavily on *rod*. Whittier, on the other hand, exhibits variety, for he availed himself of *nod*, *sod*, *trod*, *pod*, *shod* and *undertrod*. He also rhymes *God's*, *nods*, and *odds*. All these are good rhymes. Regional pronunciation accounts for his *reward*, *board*, *record* to pair with *God*; but *blood*, *wood*, *abode* are 'suspended' rhymes.

Apropos of 'suspended' rhyme, Louis Untermeyer says of it, 'This variation has been resented as a suspiciously modern departure, although the Elizabethans indulged in it, and even the New Englanders were not above using such pairs as *earth* and *forth* (Bryant), *poll* and *full* (Longfellow). . . .'⁴ He also speaks of the device as 'one of the most valuable in extending the gamut of tonal effects. . . .' He then proceeds to cite examples of its use by Shakespeare and Marlowe, adding that, however, until 1915 its employment was 'occasional and uncertain' and then praising the suspended sounds in the verse of such moderns as MacLeish, Aiken, Mark Van Doren, and Stephen Spender. To the New Englanders employing suspended rhyme, Untermeyer might well have added Whittier, whose use of it was far from 'occasional and uncertain.' He made a practice of relying upon the device (using it hundreds of times), and his results are oftentimes effective. One quotation from 'The Ranger' will serve to illustrate:

O'er went wheel and reel together,
 Little cared the owner whither;
 Heart of lead is heart of feather,

 When such lovers meet each other.

Further examples are: *wholly*, *truly*; *lurch*, *porch*; *sloth*, *growth*; *heard*, *roared*; *gorge*, *verge*; *wrath*, *death*; *deserted*, *departed*; *fallow*, *yellow*, *mellow*, *hollow*. Many of Whittier's suspended rhymes could be termed 'visual,' which also occur in great abundance; e.g. *throw*, *prow*;

2. That is, differing from perfect rhymes only because of the variance in the vowel sound. Other names are 'false,' 'slant,' and 'tangential' rhyme.

3. 'Morals of the Rhyming Dictionary,' *Yale Review*, 2: 274 (1913).

4. *Poetry, Its Appreciation and Enjoyment* (New York, 1934), pp. 460-461.

long, among; stood, blood; blooded, brooded; shallows, swallows. Whittier found a perfect rhyme for *home* in 'Snowbound'—*Rome*. He also rhymes *home, bloom; come, bloom, whom*.

Whittier used a preponderance of masculine rhymes, but he did sometimes use feminine rhymes, and usually to good effect. He varied his metrical schemes when so doing, at times rhyming odd lines beginning with the first line, as in 'Lines on the Death of S. Oliver Torrey,' at others beginning with the second line, as in 'Among the Hills.' The following stanzas, from 'My Triumph' and 'The Bashaba' respectively, show the lilting rhythm he achieved:

Hide it from idle praises,
Save it from evil phrases;
Why, when dear lips that spake it
Are dumb, should strangers wake it?

Nightly down the river going,
Swifter was the hunter's rowing,
When he saw that lodge-fire flowing
O'er the waters still and red;
And the squaw's dark eyes burned brighter,
And she drew her blanket tighter
As, with quicker step and lighter
From that door she fled.

Whittier, too, fairly often combined both masculine and feminine rhymes. In his poetry there is a group of monosyllabic words ending in *-ell* or *-all* which he rhymes with triple feminine words ending in *-cle*, *-ble* or *-cal*. For instance, in 'Snow-Bound,' *fell* is paired with *pellicle* and *visible*, *hell* with *possible*. Other rhymes of the same kind appearing in various poems are *swell, oracle; wall, mythical; all, epical, electrical*. Such rhymes are, of course, not perfect; neither are such ones as *fate, desolate; hate, importunate; weight, inarticulate*. But again, not all poets write all perfect rhymes all the time. Examples of rhymes as bad as or worse than Whittier's may be cited from a long list of major poets.

Another device involving feminine rhymes consists of the employment of two words to make a rhyme for one word. The following lines from 'The New Home' constitute an example of Whittier's combining two words to rhyme with *water*.

With interludes of pipe-smoke and strong water,
The forest sages pondered, and at length,
Concluded in a body to escort her. . . .

Other combinations are *water, brought her; favor, gave her; explorer, o'er her; quiet, by it; tighter, sight her; greener, screen her; chorus, o'er us; spirit, hear it; master, passed her; granite, fan it; Cluden, rude on*.

At times, as we saw in the quotation from 'My Triumph' above, Whittier uses two words to make a feminine rhyme, as in *before it, restore it; taught him, brought him; around me, found me*. Such devices add considerable variety to Whittier's metrics, even though he does not use many different stanzaic forms.

It has been pointed out that the words *home, heaven, and river* have so few satisfactory rhymes that, consequently, such words as *come, even, and ever* have had general acceptance as mates for them. If it is permissible to rhyme *come* and *home*, words like *martyrdom* and *dumb* should also be acceptable. For *heaven*, Whittier used the following in addition to *even*: *striven, driven, given, forgiven*—all passing muster as suspended rhymes. Poets have been allowed some license in finding rhymes also for the word *wind*; hence, Whittier is but following convention when, using a long obsolete pronunciation, he rhymes it with *behind, blind, and find*.

A few more characteristics of Whittier's rhymes remain to be noted briefly. One is his rare use of dissonance or consonance (the exact matching of consonants but not of vowel sounds), as seen in such pairs of words as *leaves, lives; book, rebuke*. Another is his mating of a word containing a long vowel with one containing a short vowel: *lies, rise, deities; Christ, Alchemist; wise, prophecies; overlies, sympathies*. These could be termed either suspended or visual rhymes. Similarly handled is the word *faith*, which he rhymed with *saith, breath, death, Elizabeth*. A third is his very rare use of identical rhymes, such as *them, them; needs, needs; fear, atmosphere; new, knew*. Lastly, there are instances in which the final word of a stanza demands last-syllable accent for perfect rhyming. Witness these lines from 'The Exiles.'

'Vile scoffer!' cried the baffled priest,—
'Thou'lt yet the gallows see.'
'Who's born to be hanged, will not be drowned,'
Quoth Macey merrily.

The poet was merely following an old convention of the English and Scottish traditional ballads when he used this device.

Are Whittier's rhymes 'careless,' 'slovenly,' 'excruciating'? It seems to me that the best comment on them is to be found in the words of C. F. Richardson: 'Whittier's rhyme-derelictions are more famous than they deserve to be, and mostly fall into some freedom of earlier English verse, rather than a wild hunt for some passable rhyme.'⁵

5. *Yale Review*, 2: 280 (1913).

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

America's Town Meeting of the Air, November 30, 1944. The speakers: Mr. George V. Denny, Jr., moderator of the program, President of the Town Hall, Inc., born in Washington, N.C., in 1899; Mr. Arthur Besse, President of the National Wool Manufacturers, born in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1887; Mr. Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, born in Washington, D.C., in 1896; Mr. Louis Fischer, author, lecturer, and foreign correspondent, born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1896; and Mr. John Lee Coulter, economist and statistician, born in Mallory, Minnesota, in 1881. Topic: 'Is a Large Scale Expansion of Our Foreign Trade Necessary to Prosperity?'

Mr. Besse: . . . 'fɒrən 'kʌntrɪz| wə 'traɪnɪ 'desprətli| tu 'bæləns 'ðeə
 ɪntə'næʃənəl 'pe-ɪmənts bə 'sendɪŋ əs 'ɪmpɔːts| æt 'enɪ 'praɪs|| ðə 'hɒli
 'smʊt 'tərəf wəz ən 'aʊt'grəʊθ|| ɪt 'keɪm frəm ðə nə'sesəti əv prə'tektɪŋ
 'sætɪn də'mestɪk mənə'fæktʃərəz| ə'genst| ði 'ɪmpɔːts| mɪtʃ| əz aɪ 'seɪl
 'fɒrən 'kʌntrɪz 'fɪpt tu 'ʌs| ɪn ə 'læːst| 'desprət 'efɔːt| tu 'bæləns| 'ðeə
 ɪntə'næʃənəl 'pe-ɪmənts|| ɪts ə'gen ðə 'prəbləm| ʔæz tə 'mɪtʃ 'keɪm
 'fɔːst| ðə 'hen| ʔə ði 'eg||

Mr. Denny: ə'raɪt|| 'hɪəz 'mɪstə 'dʒənsn||

Mr. Johnston: jə 'nou| ðə sɪg'nɪf,kənt 'θiːŋ ə'baur 'ɔl 'ðɪs 'ɪəz| ðər ɪn
 'ɪtʃ 'wʌn əv 'ðɪz 'jɪəz 'mɪstə 'besɪ ɪz 'tɔkɪŋ ə'baut| 'ʔaʊə 'ʔeksprɔːts hæv
 ɪk'sɪdɪd 'aʊə 'ɪmpɔːts|| wəts hɪ 'tɔkən ə'baut||

Mr. Denny: ə'raɪt|| 'mɪstə 'besɪ| 'aɪv ə 'kwɛstʃn 'hɪə fɔə 'ju| səb'mɪtɪd
 bə 'tɒməs 'hʌmfri| ði 'dʒənərəl ,reprə'zentətɪv əv ðɪ 'ɪntə'næʃənəl 'hʊd
 'kæəriəz| 'bɪldɪŋ| æn 'kɒmən 'leɪbərəz 'junjən| əv ði 'eɪ 'ef əv 'el: ɪn
 'sprɪŋfɪld ɪlə'nɔɪ|| ʔɪz ɪt 'pɒsəbl tu ɪk'spænd 'aʊə 'fɒrən 'treɪd wɪ'ðaut
 'reɪzɪŋ ðə 'weɪdʒɪz əv 'fɒrən 'wɜːkəz| tə ðə 'levəl əv 'ðəʊz 'peɪd ə'meərəkən
 'wɜːkəz| ʔə æz ən ɔl'tɪnətɪv 'mɛɪ'n'tɛɪn ə 'haɪ prə'tektɪv 'tæɪf||

Mr. Besse: ɪt də'pendz ɪn'tarəlɪ ə'pɒn ði 'ɪndəstri mɪtʃ juə kən'sɪdərɪŋ||
 'ðəʊz 'ɪndəstriz ðət 'mɪstə 'fɪfə 'spouk ə'baut| daʊnt 'nɪd 'enɪ 'tərəf||
 'ðeɪ kən kəm'pɪt wɪ'ðaut ət|| ðeər a 'ʔʌðər 'ɪndəstriz| 'mɪtʃ| 'kænəʊt
 kəm'pɪt| wɪ'ðaut 'sʌm 'kaɪnd əv 'tərəf|| ðə də'sɪgn wɪ məst 'meɪɪk| 'ɪz|
 ʔæz tu 'mɛðər ɔə 'nʌt| ɪt ɪz ɪm'pɔːtnt fɔr əs tu meɪn'teɪn 'ðəʊz 'ɪndəstriz||
 ɪf ɪt 'ɪznt| 'θrou ə'weɪr ðə prə'tekʃn ðeɪ 'hæv|| 'naʊ| 'ʔaɪ wəd 'laɪk tu
 'ænsə| 'mɪstə 'dʒənsən|| 'hɪ 'wɒnts tə 'nou wət 'aɪm 'tɔkɪŋ ə'baut|
 bɪ'kʌz| 'ʔaʊə 'ʔeksprɔːts| hæv ɪk'sɪdɪd 'aʊə 'ɪmpɔːts|| 'ðæts ðə 'rɪzn wɪ
 hæv ðə 'juːsləs 'goːʊld| ɪn 'fɔət 'nɒks||

* This transcription was made from a phonograph recording of part of the discussion period of the radio broadcast.

Mr. Denny: ə'raɪt||

Mr. Johnston: bət 'ðæt 'wʌznt ðə 'rɪzn ðətʃə 'hæd tə 'put ðə 'smut 'hɔəlɪ 'tæʊəf 'bɪl ɪn bɪ'kɔz 'pɪpl wə 'dʌmpɪŋ 'stɪf ɪn ə'meəʊəkə|| wən æ 'ɛkspoʊts ɪk'sɪd æ 'ɪmpoʊts| 'ɹʌðə 'kʌntrɪz 'ɹænt 'dʌmpɪŋ 'θɪŋz ɪn ə'meəʊəkə||

Mr. Denny: ə'raɪt| 'mɪstə 'fɪʃə||

Mr. Fischer: 'ju 'sed ju wəd ə'lāu| ði 'kwɛstʃn| əv 'maɪ 'gud 'frɛtənd| ənd| 'fəʊmə 'kalɪg ɪn 'mʌskəu| 'wɔːltə duə'ræntɪ| tə bi pə'zentəd tu 'ɹɔl əv 'ʌs|| 'ðɪs 'kwɛstʃn əv 'ði| 'twɛnɪ 'bɪljən 'dʌləz 'wɜθ ə 'gʊld| 'bɛərɪd ɪn 'foʊt 'nʌks|| nɑ wər əz 'ðæt 'mɪn|| ə 'kɔʊəs 'sʌm əv ət ,rɛprə'zɛnts| 'gʊld| ðət 'flɛd| frəm 'juʊəp| ənd 'fāʊnd 'rɛfjudʒ 'hɪə|| ðə 'grɛɪt rɛfju'dʒɪ| ɪz 'gʊld|| 'bʌt| 'moʊst ɹʌv ðə 'mɪljənz ə 'dɑːləz| ðə 'bɪljənz əv 'dʌləz ɪn 'gʊld 'ɹʌndə 'foʊt 'nʌks| ,rɛprɪ'zɛnt| 'güədʒ| 'ðæt 'wi 'geɪv ə'weɪ| fə 'nʌθɪŋ|| æn 'lɛt 'mi 'meɪk 'ðæt| 'kɑː'nkrɪt|| wi 'sʊld 'lɛr ʌs 'sɛɪ ɛɪ 'moʊə'saɪkl| fə 'tu 'hʌndəd 'dʌləz tə 'frā's|| nāʊ ðə 'frɛʃ 'ɹɔfəd əs 'tu 'hʌndəd 'dɑːləz| 'wʌθ əv 'gʊdz| ɪn rɪ'tʌən| sɛɪ 'plʌʃjʊmz| ən 'sɪəl| ə'sɛtrə|| æn 'wi sed 'nōʊ| wi 'döünt 'wɔnt 'tu 'hʌndəd 'dɑːləz 'wʌθ əv 'joʊ 'güdz|| 'wi 'wɔnt| 'ɹəʊnlɪ ə 'hʌndəd 'dɑːləz 'wɜθ əv 'güdz|| æn 'söü| ði 'ɹʌðə 'hʌndəd 'dɑːləz| 'keɪm tu əs ɪn 'gʊld| mɪʃ 'mɪnz| ðət wi 'geɪv| 'ðæt 'tu 'hʌndəd 'dɑːləz 'möürə'saɪkl| ə'weɪ| fə ə 'hʌndrəd 'dɑːləz|| 'ɹa 'θɪŋk 'ðæts 'bæəd 'bɪznəz|| ɪr əd bi 'mʌtʃ 'bɛrə| tə hæv ðə 'güdz| ðə 'pʌʃjʊm| 'ɹɔə ðə 'sɪəl| 'ɹɔə ðə mə'fɪnəɪ| æn 'nʌt 'hæv ðə 'gʊld| 'bɛərɪd 'wɛθlɪslɪ| 'ɹʌndə 'foʊt 'nʌks|| . . .

Mr. Denny: 'ju 'mɪn 'ju 'wɔnt 'sʌm əv 'ðæt 'gould tu go 'əʊvə ənd 'baɪ ʃə'nɛl 'nʌmbə 'faɪv|| ə'raɪt| ðə 'lɛɪdɪ ɪn 'grɪn||

Lady in the Audience: də 'ju 'θɪŋk ðæt 'tʃāɪnə kəd sə'plɑɪ 'ɹʌs wɪð 'prədʌks ðæt wi kud 'juʒ| ə 'prədʌks ðær wə bi ə 'sɜːplʌs tu 'ɹʌs||

Mr. Denny: 'ou 'jes|| jə 'nou 'wʌt jə 'sed ə'bʌʊt| ə 'sɜːplʌs| 'kʌmɪŋ 'bæk tə 'ðɪs 'kʌntrɪ ðət wi 'kudnt kən'sʊm|| kəd 'tʃʌmə sə'plɑɪ ʌs| wɪəθ| 'güdz ðət 'wi kəd 'juʒ| 'ɹɔə| 'güdz ðət wəd 'mɪəlɪ bi ə 'sɜːplʌs ðət wi 'küdnt 'juʒ||

Mr. Johnston: ɑɪ 'θɪŋk| 'mōüst əv ði sə'plāɪz ðət wi hæv rɪ'sɪvd frəm 'tʃʌmə| 'hæv 'bɪn 'güdz| ðət 'sʌplɪmɛntɪd 'əʊə 'öün prədʌkʃn| æn wə 'gudʒ ðət 'wi 'kud 'juʒ||

Mr. Denny: ə'aɪt| 'mɪstə 'fɪʃə||

Mr. Fischer: 'ɹɪzn 'ðæt 'ɪn'vɛərəbl| 'ðær ɪz| 'wi 'tɔək| 'ɹæz 'ðʌʊ| wɛn wi ɹɪm'poʊt 'güdz| 'ðɛə 'foʊst 'dæʊn 'əə 'θraʊts|| 'ɹæftə 'ɹɔːəl| 'wi 'ɹɪm'poʊt 'güədʒ| bɪ'kɔz| 'sʌm'bʌdɪ ɪz 'hɪə tə 'baɪ ðəm|| 'ðæts ði 'öünɪ 'θɪŋ ðət 'hæpnz|| 'wi 'wöünt 'ɪmpoʊt 'güdz ʌn'les ðɛə ə 'kʌstəməz fə ðəm|| wi 'wöün 'vɛəɪ 'lɔəŋ|| wi 'wʌʊnt du ɪt 'twɪs||

Mr. Denny: ʒ'raɪt|| 'jʌŋ 'mæn 'hɪə||

Man in the Audience: 'mɪstə 'dʒʌnsən| 'hau 'mʌtʃ 'treɪd| meɪ wɪ
ɪk'spekt| frəm ði 'oʊpənɪŋ 'ʌp əv sər'brɪə| ʒænd ɪn 'wʌt 'prɒdʌkts||

Mr. Johnston: wəl əv 'koʊs 'ðɪs 'hoʊl 'rʌʃn sɪtʃu'eɪʃn ɪz ə 'fæsɪneɪŋ
wən|| 'rʌʃə 'wɒnts ə 'lɑr ə 'θɪŋz frəm 'ʌs| æn 'ðæt ɪn'kludz sər'brɪə||
ðer 'wɒntə ɪn'dʌstriəl'aɪz ðeə 'læənd|| ðer wɪl 'baɪ æz 'mʌʃəl 'stələn 'sed
tə 'mi æn aɪ 'kwɒr ɪt frəm ðə 'rɪdʒ 'daɪdʒest| ðer wɪl 'baɪ| 'ʒɛnɪ
ə'māʊnt| də'pɛndɪŋ ə'pɒn ðə 'krɛdɪt 'tɜmz mɪtʃ 'wi 'gɪv 'rʌʃə|| æn ɪ
'fɜðə 'sed| 'wi wɪl 'peɪ| 'strɪktlɪ ə'pɒn ði 'tɜmz əv 'pɛɪmənt|| wən 'aɪ
'sed 'ʌpt wɪl ju 'peɪ ɪt 'wɪð hi ə'numʒeɪrəd ə 'hoʊl 'grʊp əv 'θɪŋz ðər
ɪ wəd 'peɪ əs 'wɪð| æn 'ðɛn ɪ| kænə 'klouzd 'wɒn 'aɪ æn ɪ 'sed| ʒə 'noʊl
ən wɪ kən 'peɪ ju ɪn 'gould|| æn 'aɪ sed| ʒaɪ də no məðə wɪ 'wɒnt 'gould
ə 'nāt 'mæʃl 'stələn bɪ'kɒz ʒə 'nɒʊ wɪ hæv ə 'lɑr əv ɪr ət 'foʊt 'nʌks ən
'mæʃl 'stələn ə'gen 'klouzd 'wɒn 'aɪ ən 'lʊkt ət mi 'kaɪndə 'kwɪzəklɪ
æn ɪ 'sed ʒə |noʊ 'mɪstə 'dʒʌnsən| 'ɔl 'kæpərlɪstɪk 'kʌntrɪz| 'wɒnt 'gould||

Mr. Denny: 'daktə 'koʊltə| wɪ 'wɒn tə 'get 'ju ɪntə 'ðɪs 'rʌʃn| æn
'hɪəz ə 'kwɛstʃən ðət 'kɛɪm tə 'ju| 'frʌm| 'tʌməs 'eɪ 'gɒlt| ə 'tɪtʃə| ɪn
mə'klelən,tāʊn| ,pensəl'veɪŋjə|| 'dʒu tə rə'sɜtʃ| æn ði ,ɪndʒɪ'njuətɪ əv
ə'mɛəəkənz| 'ʒənt wɪ br'kʌmɪŋ 'self-sa'fɪʃənt ə'nʌf| sou ðət 'fɒrən
'treɪd| 'nɪd 'ɪðʊnlɪ bɪ ə 'seɪftɪ 'vælv| fɒ 'ɛkses prə'dʌkʃn||

Mr. Coulter: ou 'aɪm 'wʌn əv 'ðəʊz hu bɪ'livz 'ðæt 'ðeə 'ɪz 'pleɪs fɔə eɪ
tri'mendəs 'vʌlʒəm| ʒʌv 'fɒrən 'treɪd| boʊθ 'ɪmpoʊts ən 'ekspoʊts|| 'aɪ
'dɒnt 'juʒ ði ,ɪl's'treɪʃn əv-ə| 'mɪstə 'dʒʌnsən ðæt ɪt hæz tə bɪ 'sʌm 'fʌɪn
'wʌɪn|| 'aɪ 'seɪ wɪ 'brɪŋ ɪn ə 'bɪljən 'dʌlɜz 'wɜθ əv 'tɪ ən 'kɒfɪ ən
'kɒkʊ əv 'spʌɪsɪz ən 'frʊts| ænd 'ɔəɪəntl 'rʌgz ən 'tæpɪstrɪz ən 'pæəəs
'hæts ən 'pɜfjʌmz| ən 'sou 'foʊθ||

Mr. Denny: ʒə'nɛl 'nʌmbə 'faɪv||

Mr. Coulter: 'bʌt-ə| 'æftə wɪ 'brɪŋ 'ɪn 'ðɪz 'θɪ 'foə 'faɪv 'bɪljən
'dʌlɜz 'wɜθ| əv 'ɔl əv 'ðɪz 'θɪŋz frəm 'tʃaɪnə n dʒə'pæn ən ðə 'rest əv
ðə 'wɜ:ld| 'ðɪz 'fɒrən 'pɪpl ɪn'sted əv 'juʒɪŋ 'ðæt| 'nāʊ 'māʊk ju|
ɪn'sted əv 'juʒɪŋ 'ðæt| tə 'bāɪ 'əʊ 'sɜpləs 'mɪt ən 'kʌtɪn ən tə'bæko n 'læd
ðə 'fɔə 'θɪŋz 'ðer 'nɪd| æn tə 'baɪ 'ðɪz mə'ʃɪn 'tuəlz| 'brʌðə 'fɪʃə 'tɒks
ə'bʌʊt| 'ðer 'tɜn ə'rāʊnd nd 'baɪ| ,ʔɒtəmo'biəlz| 'moʊtə'saɪklz ɪz 'hɪz
,ɪl's'treɪʃn| ænd 'taɪp,rartəz ən 'ðæt 'sɔət əv 'θɪŋ|| 'wi 'kænt 'foəs
'ðeəm| tə 'juʒ mə'ʃɪn 'tuəlz ən 'reɪz ðəm'selvz 'ʌp wɪð 'ðeə 'hɒtɪntɪts|
æz-ə| 'brʌðə 'dʒʌnsən 'sez|| . . .

This transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following graduate students in phonetics in Teachers College, Columbia University: Gloria Brener, Elizabeth Caughran, Blanche Davis, Vivian Lawrence, and Harriet Levine.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'THE CONFLICT OF HOMONYMS IN ENGLISH'

THIS book, as its title indicates,¹ is a demonstration of the principle of homonymic conflict as it can be discerned to have operated in English. The principle may be epitomized thus: phonological developments may occasionally cause words originally different and distinct to approach or attain identity in sound. When such phonetic similarity or identity leads, in the normal circumstances of use, to embarrassment or confusion in meaning, the resulting difficulty may be resolved by the replacement of one or both of the conflicting forms, or by rebuilding, or by a change in the status of one of the words. Through the invocation of this principle can be explained, for example, the loss of certain commonly used native words and the rebuilding or extension of one of the variant forms. This principle was developed most notably in Romance philology in investigations based on materials contained in the *Atlas linguistique de la France*.

Several earlier studies on homonymy and homonymic conflict in English precede Miss Williams' investigations. In range, depth, and variety of methods, however, her study may be called new with regard to English. For the first time the panoply of techniques which characterize comparable European studies: dialectology, historical and comparative grammar, place-name study, linguistic geography, semantics, etc., are brought to bear with fine precision on this phase of the history of the English language. Miss Williams moves as one having skill and authority, and at the same time she is enjoying herself.

The notion of homonymic conflict, once advanced as theory, is now, as Miss Williams rightly urges, held as principle. Her study, however, carries much of the air of thesis, as she continually defends the idea of homonymic conflict, upon occasion repetitiously, against sceptics, infidels, those who hesitate to accept, or who have advanced considerations against it. This is probably but a reflection of the origin of this work as a doctoral dissertation.

Miss Williams prefaces her study with an introductory survey of the principles and definitions of homonymic conflict as they develop in the classic studies of Gilliéron, Meillet, Dauzat, Jaberg, Jud, and others. Much of this is familiar to experienced linguists; readers who are but

1. *The Conflict of Homonyms in English*. By Edna Rees Williams. Yale Studies in English, Vol. 100. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. xii, 130 pp.

partially or entirely unacquainted with this terrain will be glad of so convenient a means of informing themselves.

The main contribution of this study lies in a series of investigations in specific instances of homonymic conflict in English, and an analysis and explanation of the solution arrived at in each case. *Ear* and *near* 'kidney' (Chapter I), became homophonic through metanalysis, as *a near* and *an ear* became confusable; interesting are the two solutions arrived at in two different regions: the replacement popularly of *near* by *kidney* in the south, and of *ear* by *lug* in the north. The conflict of *gate* 'gateway' with *gate* 'road' (Chapter II) is particularly illuminating as to the range and distribution of the palatalized type of the former, *yate*, and as to the gradual rebuilding of *yate*-elements in place-names by substitution for it in modern times of the standard form *gate*. This emphasizes anew the danger of drawing conclusions from the modern distribution and from official forms without regard to the sequence of historic forms. Teachers of Middle English will find Chapter III, 'Conflicts involving

ME ē and ME ' and Chapter V, 'Conflicts involving ME ai,' especially valuable for the clarity with which, thanks to a generous use of diagram and map, Miss Williams sets in perspective the convergence of differing sounds in a common phoneme. In Chapter IV, 'Quean and Queen,' we feel the difficulty in evaluating phonetically what is intended by the written forms in the modern period. Here Wyld, though less definite than Luick, is, because of his firm consciousness of the long and continuous competition in the case of *quean* of the *ī* and *ē* types in the Early and Middle Modern periods, the better guide. Chapter VI, 'Churm and Churn,' is an interesting surprise for the student of Old English as he contemplates the recession from current use of an old, and to him, familiar form.

The lack of a linguistic atlas for England is partially compensated by the offerings of the *NED*, Wright's *Dialect Dictionary and Grammar*, the volumes of the Place Name Society, and the various available dictionaries and studies of local speech and words. Miss Williams' demonstrations are excellent models and will prove very suggestive for students with regard to both the materials available and the methods of handling them.

The Conflict of Homonyms in English is significant not only for its contents and nature but also for its place in the series in which it is published: it marks the turn of the century for number of volumes in the *Yale Studies in English*, and is a landmark worthy of its station.

RUDOLPH WILLARD

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'MARKS OF READABLE STYLE'

ANYONE who is disposed to look in Mr. Flesch's book¹ for a sensitive instrument by means of which one can distinguish artistic from competent prose, or great writing from uninspired hackwork, and who is not disposed to pay attention to the modesty of the author's claims, will roundly criticize him for not doing what he did not set out to do. 'Tests' of prose readability that will not reveal the differences in artistic merit between, say, the styles of Ernest Hemingway and Louella Parsons are, such a critic will complain, useless. Criticism of this kind, like those attacks on Basic English which complain of its failures to do what it was not intended to do, would, in addition to being unjust, be a real disservice in that it would obscure the progress that is being made.

Mr. Flesch's problem is to isolate, in a usable formula, the publicly discriminable factors that make prose more or less readable to the adult general public: the ninety per cent of the American people whose level of comprehension and enjoyment rarely rises above the *Saturday Evening Post* and usually stays well below it. Obviously adult education must reach this level, and Mr. Flesch wishes to be able, first, to provide means of predicting whether a given piece of writing will reach that public, and secondly to provide writers and teachers with a formula giving the essentials of popularization. In testing readability, he finds that the ratio of 'uncommon' words, although indicative of ease or difficulty in grading children's books, is not an important factor in adult reading. He rejects the enumeration of certain syntactical features, such as word order, as offering too many difficulties. He finally narrows down his criteria of readability to 'a combined formula, based on the number of affixed morphemes, average sentence length in words, and number of personal references.'

The degree of abstractness of a passage is of course an index of its difficulty to the average reader. Mr. Flesch recognizes the objections, both theoretical and practical, to trying to determine degrees of abstractness by such methods as counting the number of 'abstract words.' His suggestions, therefore, to count the number of affixes (listed in the appendix; etymologists will quarrel with this list, but I do not believe the outcome of the tests would be affected by a few changes here and there) and the number of personal references ('references to persons either by names or by words meaning people as such or their mutual relations') are indirect, and I believe acceptable, ways of determining whether or not a

1. *Marks of Readable Style: A Study in Adult Education*. By Rudolf Flesch. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. 69 pp.

passage has the 'human interest' and 'concreteness' demanded by the general reader. With these tests, and the added test of sentence length, Mr. Flesch believes we have a reasonably accurate measure of popular readability. He who wishes to write for wider audiences is advised, therefore, to write short sentences, to be as 'concrete' as possible, to cut down on abstract words, and to bring in people wherever possible.

To whom, one might ask, is such a study as Mr. Flesch's useful? Don't good newspapermen and teachers and writers constantly follow his rules, often without knowing that such rules exist? Isn't he going to a lot of trouble to prove what is already known? The author has in part anticipated such objections: 'Writing is an art; so is the appreciation of literature. Every writer who knows his trade thinks that his experience is the best guide . . . ; every book reviewer is convinced that he can tell exactly how readable a book is. This is the kind of opposition to the present approach that may be called the vested interest of the expert practitioner. It is based on the belief that literature and language naturally defy any scientific or statistical approach.'

Whatever its shortcomings, Mr. Flesch believes there are important uses for the statistical approach. For example, librarians, instead of simply sorting books by subject matter and thereby throwing together the elementary and the abstruse in inextricable confusion, might also make classifications according to readability; national bibliographical services might list readability ratings of books as a help to librarians. (The author tells us that this is already being done in Soviet Russia.) The impulse toward self-education in adults is extinguished not only by the scarcity of readable books on special subjects but also by the lack of a quick way of finding, from among the many books in a given field, the few that are readable to an only moderately literate beginner. Mr. Flesch also believes that government, as well as education, can profit from recognizing the facts revealed by research in readability. Scientific simplification of language in government regulations and directives might well be undertaken in order to make them easier to understand, hence more difficult to resent.

The one aspect of readability with which Mr. Flesch has conspicuously failed to bother himself is that of achieving readability himself. This appears to me a most serious omission.

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MISCELLANY

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JOHN A. GRINDLE, REAL OR FICTIONAL ANGLER?

In a recent publication by Rachel L. Carlson, *Fishes of the Middle West*, 1943, p. 28 (Fish and Wildlife Service, Conservation Bulletin 34, U. S. Department of the Interior), is the following statement about the fish grindle, more widely called the bowfin: 'Despite the fact that it is not widely used as a food, the bowfin is a well-known fish bearing a variety of local names; Virginians give it the dignified name of John A. Grindle, which in the central Mississippi Valley is shortened to Grindle.' Two items in the *Richmond Times Dispatch*—an editorial by Virginius Dabney (Dec. 26, 1943, p. 2-B, col. 1) and a section of John H. Gwathmey's 'Gun and Rod' column (Dec. 29, 1943, p. 12, col. 2), both commending the fish for its edibility—bear out Miss Carlson's statement that the name 'John A. Grindle' is widely used in Virginia; though, clearly, many fishermen use both names, the shorter one normally, the longer one when they are joking or facetious.

The simple form 'grindle' is easily understood. Information in the *NED* and *DAE* makes it clear that around 1700 German immigrants, remembering the various ground-hugging fish in the old country to which they had given

the name 'gründel' (groundling), called this ground-hugging fish by the same name; and that the word came into American English as 'grindle.'

But the name 'John A. Grindle' is more of a problem. How did it arise? The *NED* and Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard* (1895 ed.) record the name but do not explain it. The *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, 1911, says that the name John A. Grindle 'is a humorous extension of the simple name' but adds that its origin is 'not ascertained.' Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard* (1935 ed.), commenting on the variant 'Johnny Grindle,' says that the name came 'from that of an Indiana lawyer devoted to angling.' Thus we have the story: There once was an Indiana lawyer, one John A. or Johnny Grindle, so devoted to angling and with a name so pat that the fish was humorously dignified by his full name.

Stated in this way, the explanation bears all the earmarks of an after-the-fact, popular etymology, entertaining but untrue. What may be brought forward to support this conclusion?

Unfortunately the dates of the illustrative passages in the *NED* and *DAE* neither hinder nor help. So we shall have to fall back on probabilities.

For over 150 years the word

'grindle' was used in its simple form. Then around 1884-85 both 'Johnny Grindle' and 'John A. Grindle' are recorded (see *NED*, grindle; *DAE*, Johnny Grindle). Where did these names come from? I should like to suggest the unrecorded 'johnny grindle' (without capital letters) as their source, and for the following reasons. In the first place it is axiomatic that proper names are, in general, after-the-fact. Secondly the form 'johnny grindle' follows a well established pattern of word formation. Many things and persons have come to have 'johnny' added, through humor or affection, to their simple names: the flower johnny-jump-up, the greenhorn Johnny Raw, the soldier Johnny Reb, and the hawk johnny rook. From johnny grindle the fish to Johnny or John A. Grindle the angler is an understandable step and in view of the ways of popular etymology an obvious one.

But the story says that Mr. Grindle was also a lawyer. How explain that? The answer is simple. The grindle or bowfin was also called the 'lawyer.' Why this name was given to the fish I cannot find, and guessing is out of place here. But such is the record of both the *NED* and *DAE*. (A facetious explanation was given by Mr. Dabney in the editorial mentioned above: 'It will bite at anything and is good for nothing when caught.')

One final detail in the story of Mr. Grindle eludes me. He was an

Indiana lawyer. Why *Indiana*? There I am stumped.

All this amounts to what I believe to be the probability that in the 1870's or '80's some one or ones with jesting imagination made up the story of John A. Grindle, lawyer and angler, out of the names of the fish, and thus added one more name to the long list of eponymous persons like Hume Bogo whose stories came to be called humbug, Mr. Monk who invented the monkey-wrench, and the wealthy Mexican chieftain Montezuma whose shortened name m'azuma came to mean money.

The statement of the pamphlet *Fishes of the Middle West* that 'Virginians give [the fish] the dignified name of John A. Grindle, which in the central Mississippi Valley is shortened to Grindle' must be changed, for the truth is the reverse. It was not shortened in the Mississippi Valley; it was lengthened in Virginia.

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WAITERS' LINGO IN THE 1880'S

The jargon of waiters and soda-clerks, lately made the subject of considerable notice, appears to have a lineage of some standing. In *The New York Weekly* of June 23, 1884, there appeared the following brief article under the caption 'Waiters' Lingo':

'Three up, coff!' cried the waiter.

The customer looked curiously to see what the unusual order meant. The waiter brought the customer three small cakes

and a cup of coffee.

'One brown buck,' cried another waiter. In a few moments he brought the customer a plate of buckwheat cakes done brown.

'Beef and' and 'ham and' were frequently heard, and the orders were filled with beef and beans and ham and eggs.

'Give me a plate of beans,' he said to the waiter.

'One plate of Boston strawberries,' yelled that functionary.

The old gentleman was startled, but soon received his favorite dish at a cost of ten cents, while New York strawberries would cost him fifty.

'Cincinnati quail—have it fat,' was the next order.

The cook cut off a large slice of fat pork and put it on a plate.

'All waiters,' said the proprietor, who sat at the door to see that no man escaped without paying his bill, 'have a system of abbreviation and a peculiar nomenclature for food. Some of our customers know this technical form of ordering so well that they use it themselves.'

A well-dressed man here entered, and taking a seat at the table, ordered the waiter to bring him two fish-balls.

'One sleeve-buttons,' cried the waiter, while the cook softly repeated, 'sleeve-buttons.'

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YIDDISH [gr'tsɛndzɪt, gə-, -ət],

'CHANGED, CENSORED'

This form is found frequently in American Yiddish correspondence and in the spoken language. Usually it means *changed*, and as such is a substandard form of [gr'tfɛmdʒɪt, gə-, -ət]; but it often means *censored*. In both cases it derives from the English words, with the addition of the regular Yiddish past participial prefix and

the transformation of almost every sound.

When it means *changed*, the following sound shifts have taken place: [tʃ] > [ts], [dʒ] > [dz], [d] > [t], [eɪ] > [ɛ]; and [ɪ/ə] has been inserted. The sound [tʃ] exists in Yiddish words which have been taken into the language from Slavic sources and is one of the phonemes of the standard spoken language, but there is a large body of Yiddish speakers who substitute [ts] for [tʃ] habitually, and they of course make the same substitution in words derived from English; thus [fɔmɪtsɪ] *furniture*, [pɪktsɪ], *picture*. For these speakers [dʒ] regularly becomes [dz]. The final [d] of *changed* has become [t] in keeping with the regular Yiddish suffix for past participles, e.g. [gɪkɔɪft, gə-] *bought*, [gɪvɔkt, gə-] in American Yiddish *walked*. The regular past participial prefix is [grɪ-] or [gə-], rarely [gɛ-].

An [ɪ/ə] has been inserted before the final [t]. Now the final cluster [tst] is not foreign to Yiddish phonemic structure, e.g. [gɪglantst, gə-] *shone*; obviously the [ɪ/ə] has been inserted in order to preserve the voicing of the [dz], for its omission would result in assimilation, giving [gɪtsɛntst, gə-]. There may be speakers who use this form, but if so, it must be very rare. Standard spoken Yiddish contains the sounds [tʃ] and [dʒ] and so for the majority of speakers, the word is [gɪtʃɛmdʒɪt, gə-, -ət], containing also the extra [ɪ/ə]. There may be some influence from the

English noun plural and verb form [tʃeɪndʒɪz, -əz].

When the form under consideration means *censored*, it is also an adaptation of the English word. There is in standard Yiddish the not uncommon noun [ʔtsenzɔʁ] *ensor*, and the verb [tsenzuʔrirən], which is found only occasionally in American correspondence and even less frequently in the colloquial spoken language. The form we are considering, however, is the usual word in the United States for *censored*. It contains (like [gɪtsendʒɪt, gə-, -ət] *changed*) the regular past participial prefix and suffix. The first [s] of *censored* has become [ts], and the second [s] has become [z], probably under the influence of the noun [ʔtsenzɔʁ]. The [d] is of course a regular transitional phenomenon between [n] and [z], similar to the [t] which may make its appearance between the [n] and [s] of English [sensəʁ].

The form [gɪtsendʒɪt, gə-, -ət] obviously originated in the eastern section of the country, for it derives from English [sensəd] and not from [sensəd]. The omission of [r] is regular in the English words that have entered American Yiddish in the East, e.g. [ɛr z a ʔsmatər bɔɪ] *he's a smart boy*. The pronunciation of a middle-western speaker who has not picked up his Americanisms in the East is [gɪtsendʒert, gə-].

J. A.

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'HIGHBALL'

Since Mr. I. Willis Russell has

proved (*Am. Sp.*, 19: 33) that *highball* is a railroad term, meaning variously: (1) a signal to go ahead, (2) a signal to go fast, (3) speed; and since he has intimated that the first sense at least must be as old as the ball-type signal in the American railroad system (a signal which came into use in 1832), we are, I believe, justified in assuming that the common use of *highball* in the meaning 'an iced, spiritous drink usually served in a tall glass' (attested by the *DAE* since 1898) is closely related to the railroad term. It may suffice to bring to the reader's attention the words of the specialist in French *argot* terms, G. Esnault (in *Le Poilu tel qu'il se parle*, Paris, 1919, p. 450), in reference to a parallel semantic development in French:

RAPIDE . . . , Vin qui saoule rapidement. . . . Syssém[antique, i.e. a word showing the same semantic principle]: ÉLECTRIQUE . . . , Vin . . . — BRUTAL, Vin . . . — Je ne crois pas que du vin soit appelé *du brutal* parce qu'il rend brutal . . . ; je ne crois pas non plus que le vin soit dit *électrique* quand il est épatant, quoiqu'on me dise qu'*électrique* a été usuel comme syn[onyme] d'*épatant* . . . Une 'compagnie électrique,' à la légion étrangère, . . . est celle où l'entraînement sportif est le plus intensif. Le canon est le *brutal*, parce que l'obus est prompt; j'ai entendu en [19]10 nommer le Train-express le *brutal*; le fait qu'un train 'rapide,' 'électrique' parfois, est dit 'brutal' invite à voir dans les mêmes adjectifs appliqués au vin la même idée, Promptitude, mais cette idée que le boire est le Véhicule de la raison vers la déraison; de là, *train direct*, 1, Litre de vin, chez les bouchers de la Villette. . . ; 2, Verre d'absinthe (dont les catégories sont la *grande vitesse pour Charenton* [the insane asylum near Paris], la *petite*

vitesse, la correspondance) . . . et wagon,
Grand verre de vin.

Evidently American railroad terms must have had the same radius of expansion as did the French: the American drink called 'highball' is, so to speak, a green light which speeds up the trip toward intoxication, just as the French wines called *train direct*, [train] *électrique, rapide, brutal*, are those which lead swiftly to drunkenness.

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'AN AWFULLY LOT'

The curious idiom, *an awfully lot*—meaning 'a great deal,' 'very much'—seems to be growing more common. One hears it from both educated and uneducated speakers, even from some people who are rather watchful of their English. The phrase first caught my ear about seventeen years ago; it may of course be older. I have happened to observe it only in Kansas, but among those using it there has been at least one Texan.

Evidently we have here an example of 'genteel false grammar.' Some one, having been instructed to say *awfully good* or the like, pushed that supposed elegance a step farther. The expression is a firmly welded unit; I have never heard *awfully* used as an adjective with any noun besides *lot*.

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'L.C.L.' AGAIN

Mr. Byington's point (*AS* 19: 118) that the railroad abbreviation *l. c. l.* now means *less-than-carload-lots* as well as *less-than-carload* is unquestionably correct. When it finally got into *Webster's* (in a New Words supplement to the first edition of the *New International*), it was said to mean *less than carload lots*. However, the following quotation (from freight classifications adopted by the Convention of Southern Railway and Steamship Association in 1878) is of interest: 'L C L stands for Less than Car Load. C L stands for Car Load. N. O. S. stands for Not Otherwise Specified.'¹ Both the absence of *lots* and the spelling of *car load* as two words indicate that the second L stood then for *load*.

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'PRESENTLY'

Presently in the sense of 'at present, now, at the present time' is either enjoying a revival or needs relabeling by most American dictionaries. The *OED* states that it has been obsolete in this sense in literary English since the seventeenth century, but that it is 'in regular use in most Eng. dialects and common in Sc. writers.' The *OED's* citations are from Caxton in 1485 to the *Leeds Mercury* in 1901. Wyld's *Universal Dictionary*

1. *Second Annual Report of the Railroad Commissioners of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1882), Appendix C, p. xxi.

(1932) agrees in calling this sense archaic or obsolete.

The American dictionaries consulted are not agreed in their labeling. *Macmillan's Modern Dictionary* (1938) and the *Thorndike Century Senior Dictionary* (1941) do not even include this sense of *presently*. *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* (1911) calls it obsolete. Webster's *NID* (1927; c. 1909) labels as obsolete the sense 'at once, now'; but by 1940 (c. 1934) it has added to this definition the phrase 'also, at the time indicated (by the verb)' and modified the labeling to 'Now Rare exc. Dial.' Apparently either the earlier labeling was incorrect or the revival suggested in this note had begun at least by 1934, the date of the second edition of *NID*. The evidence in Funk and Wagnalls' *New Standard Dictionary* could support either of these inferences: both the editions of 1931 (c. 1929) and 1944 (c. 1942) list *presently* in the sense of 'now; at this present' without qualifying label, that is, as standard English.

All the citations presented below are recent; nevertheless, they confirm the Funk and Wagnalls labeling at least for the period they cover. The first citation was supplied by Mr. Dwight L. Bolinger; the last by Mr. A. H. Mason.

1939 *Topeka Journal* 20 Feb. p. 12 Sumner is presently minister of interior and one of the outstanding leaders.

1943 *Tuscaloosa News* 11 Aug. p. 7 (AP) Altogether the Browns made 13 hits, including three by Mark Christman, who was at shortstop because Vernon Stephens presently has a lame ankle and a weak bat. *Musical America* Aug. p. 26 [Adv.

of a] pianist of international renown [who wishes a position states that he] Is presently teaching in a well-known mid-west school. *Time* 20 Sept. p. 25 (quoting John Steinbeck) They said Mussolini assured them he would return to power and re-establish the Fascist regime, comparing himself presently with Napoleon—the parallel being Napoleon's exile on Elba. *Tuscaloosa News* 8 Nov. p. 1 (AP) The presently proposed increase . . . would be retroactive to Feb. 1. *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 4 Dec. p. 26 Such a relationship between ruler and ruled would of course also tend to alter 'the law' which, as presently constituted, embodies an archaic adjustment . . . *Tuscaloosa News* 10 Dec. p. 1 (AP) Aggressive United States aircraft carrier task forces, presently crumbling Japan's outpost island defenses . . . , have demonstrated an ability to strike quickly . . . *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 11 Dec. p. 20 W. W. Chaplin, late of Hearst's International News Service and presently of the National Broadcasting Company, is a newspaperman of the old school . . .

1944 *Harper's* Mar. (Personal and Otherwise) 'I am presently editor of the *Charlotte News*,' says Burke Davis . . . *Tuscaloosa News* 4 Apr. p. 2 (AP) While the question of war contract termination is not presently before the subcommittee, George and Woll both called that problem important. *Ibid.* 7 Apr. p. 1 (AP) The number of British correspondents accredited to the various armies is not presently available . . . *B'ham News* 22 June p. 5 (AP) On the basis of information presently available our planes inflicted the following damage: . . . *Tuscaloosa News* 5 July p. 6 (NEA) Once the parasite has been planted in the blood by a mosquito, the best drugs presently known merely suppress the disease. *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 16 July p. 12-A It is presently located in the school auditorium, but will be moved by the opening of school into other quarters. *Read. Dig.* July p. 43 (Sumner Welles) Those who so vehemently maintain that the only practical need of this country after the war is partnership in a four-power military

alliance not unnaturally insist that we should presently refrain from furthering the international adoption of principles of international conduct.

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SOME WORDS FROM

IRVIN S. COBB

I have been reading *Murder Day by Day* (1933), a detective story by Irvin S. Cobb. About the middle of the book I began to be conscious that I had a source for items of language; if I had realized this earlier I might have made more notes. Cobb was a Kentuckian whose principal literary career was in New York City. The narrator of the story is presented as a Tennessean who has worked on a New York newspaper and then retired for many years to a home in eastern Long Island. He remarks that eastern Long Island has its own dialect, different from that of any neighboring territory either in New England or in New York. He marks this dialect especially by the use of 'yes, yes,' the second *yes* italicized, not as answer to a question but in the midst of the speaker's own statement, as emphatic ending of a sentence or member of a sentence.

I offer the following quotations:

P. 147: 'I often had traversed this ground and knew how to avoid marshy puddles. . . . Once, not thirty yards behind me, I could have sworn I heard a subdued sloshing as though some heavy creature blundered into a flooded place which I, being acquainted with all such *loblollies*, had gone around.' We can welcome more quotations for *loblolly* than the dictionaries give.

P. 196: 'the blazing sticks of half-green cord-wood popped and sizzled as the saps were simmered out of them to bubble in the flames like so much *live sirup*.' The term *live sirup* looks like a technicality of sugar-making. I do not recognize it as Vermont maple sugar language. It could, for aught I know, be Mid-Western maple sugar language or sorghum-boiler's language or cane-sugar boiler's language or two of these or all three.

P. 209: 'And Hilda, so Verity said, was in quite a *swivit* over the prospect of being interviewed again. But, as I asked him, why should Hilda be in any *swivit*?' Verity is a native of eastern Long Island.

P. 218: 'There are stories that the third Mrs. Verity is somewhat of a *nag*, that her henpecked spouse prefers to spend his leisure hours elsewhere than at home.' *Nag* for *nagger*.

P. 219: 'Substantially that is all for the sixth day of our *goried* muddle.' If *goried* differs in meaning from *gory*, I fail to catch the difference.

P. 222: 'Half a mile along, a *side-way* called Depot Road debouches at *rectangles* from Pharaoh's Lane.' The *NED* certifies at *rectangles*, but certifies it as obsolete since 1795. *Side-way* here is not in the sense which the *NED* (but not the *DAE*) describes as 'now U.S.'

P. 230: 'Here came Verity wriggling in on his *gimpy* legs.'

P. 231: 'Verity, unable longer to contain himself, burst forth with his own *topmounting* disclosure.' The sense seems to be 'climactic,' 'climax-capping.'

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

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IRRADIATIONS OF THE SUFFIXES

'-EE' AND '-EER'

'My system is to jam the gift into a stout brown bag, lay it in front of the *giftee* and say "Merry Christmas."' Flora Breck in *The Office Economist*, December, 1943.

P. 3.

'Keys for *Forgettees*' is the sign

over a desk in the Reception Section of the Pentagon Building at Washington, D.C.

'This condition should be called to attention of all persons buying coach tickets, including *furlough-ees*.' *Union Pacific Bulletin*, December, 1943, p. 1.

'Frank Robbins receives calls daily from people who wish pigeons to be exterminated around their homes. . . . Assistant "*pigeoneer*" at different times is Detective Captain Eugene Masters who is also an expert shot.' *Lincoln, Nebraska Sunday Journal and Star*, April 30, 1944, p. 8. [In ordinary use *pigeoneer* is the official term for one who raises and trains pigeons. In military use, it means 'one who has charge of the breeding, training, care etc., of military homing pigeons.']

'Moreover the prominent executives are growing elderly and need their sleep to fit them for the morrow's fray with the *bargaineers* of labor, the renegotiation men, the treasury, their lawyers and operating details once managed by subordinates now vanished to the War.' Westbrook Pegler, newspaper column, June 8, 1944.

'"*Donuteer*"—More than 100,000 servicemen polled in Canteens by the National Dunking Association, have voted Jackie Tucker of Kerber's Ridge, Ill., the most popular "*donuteer*" in the country. She serves donuts at a USO canteen in Champaign, Ill.' Newspaper item, June 12, 1944.

MORE AMALGAMS

'*Execucasting* is a convenient,

one-word description of Dictaphone Electronic Dictation.' '. . . and that deskful melts away like an ice cube on a hot summer day and you know that mistakes and alibis are eliminated, because all your instructions and decisions are on record . . . Eureka! Mr. Vice President . . . that's "*execucasting*!"' Advertisement in *Newsweek*, May 29, 1944.

'Eugene J. Bengé of Chicago . . . is the author of "*Manpower in Marketing*" based on the human element in business. . . . Mr. Bengé is widely known as a "*humanagement engineer*," which is a nifty if we ever saw one.' Frederick Babcock, *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, May 7, 1944.

A '*Histomap of Religion*' was sent to customers and friends at Christmas time, 1943, by the Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment Company.

Musicalamity Janes is the legend, in *Time*, May 1, 1944, page 58, under a picture of eight or nine girls of the unsuccessful musical comedy, '*Allah Be Praised*,' produced by Alfred Bloomingdale.

A *Mail-O-Mat* from which postage stamps may be had is to be found in the Reception Section of the Pentagon Building at Washington, D.C.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF 'WEIR'

This spelling of a word meaning a device for taking or holding fish is given preference by dictionaries, but I have not heard the assigned pronunciations except from the book-learned. My attention was

first drawn to the colloquial pronunciation at Matinicus Island, Maine (1915), through the term 'wear-hen' applied to Holboell's grebe because it frequented fish-wears. Bibliographic research has revealed a similar name for a grebe, 'ware coot,' in use in South Carolina in colonial times (John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* [etc.], Raleigh, 1860 reprint of the 1714 edition, p. 248; the first edition was published in 1709). I have heard the V's of stones, used so commonly in the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania as the wings of eel-traps, also called wears. Thus for a considerable distance through the Atlantic states, a pronunciation is, or has been, in use, the prevalence of which would scarcely be imagined from comment in the dictionaries.

W. L. McATEE

Chicago, Illinois

'FIGHTING-HOLE FEET' AND 'SHELTER LEGS'

'The first official mention I heard of "fighting-hole feet,"' wrote John Lardner, war correspondent for *Newsweek* (January 3, 1944), 'came from Major Milton Landry of San Antonio as he sat in his wet tent on a hillside [in Italy].' The men in the tent tried to describe the condition for Mr. Lardner, and Major Landry summed it up: 'Same thing as trench feet in the last war. There's nothing much new in war, just the names. You could call this foxhole feet or slit-trench feet just as well but in the report I saw yesterday they called it fighting-hole feet. . . .

So when the boys more or less live in holes things happen to their feet that are not so good.'

The same group defined other terms for Mr. Lardner.

'You take a fighting hole. You want a hole about two feet by three and just deep enough so a man can rest his gun on the edge and fight out of it. A slit trench is built different. You can't fight out of a slit trench.'

'That's a foxhole?' asked the correspondent.

'Yeah,' said Landry. 'You dig that just long enough and deep enough to get protection for your whole body from the stuff flying around. You lie in a foxhole. In a fighting hole you stand up and fight.'

Newsweek (March 20, 1944) reported also the prevalence of 'shelter legs' in London. 'Renewed Nazi raids brought an old ailment back to London—"shelter legs," a swelling and stiffness afflicting chiefly elderly women who sleep all night in the air raid shelters in deck chairs. According to the medical journal, *The Lancet*, pressure of deck-chair cross-bars causes lymphatic obstruction in vessels behind the knee. In some cases, the ugly swelling is permanent.'

'Delhi Belly,' the name given by our troops in India to a form of dysentery, was also mentioned in *Newsweek* (February 28, 1944).

A correspondent to *Newsweek* (October 4, 1943) told of the 'Paragraph Troopers'—Washington Army and Navy officers, anxious to break away from their desks and get overseas. Ensign R. H.

Haakenson, First Beach Bn., Fleet P. O., offered other titles—'Chairborne Infantry' for the Army and 'Chaircraft Harriers' for the Navy (December 20, 1943).

M. J. M.

University of Nebraska

THOREAU AND GEORGE MINOTT

In Thoreau's *Journal* for October, 1851, he wrote of George Minott, a 'poetical farmer':

Minott used the word '*gavel*' to describe a parcel of stalks cast on the ground to dry. His are good old English words, and I am always sure to find them in the dictionary, though I never heard them before in my life. . . . Though he never reads a book,—since he has finished the

'Naval Monument,'—he speaks the best of English.

Thoreau wrote of Minott in 1856:

He (Minott) said he saw Emerson come home from lecturing the other day with his *knitting-bag* (lecture bag) in his hand. He asked him if the lecturing business was as good as it used to be. Emerson said he didn't see but it was as good as ever; guessed the people would want lectures 'as long as he or I lived.'

In the *Journal* for October, 1851, Thoreau writes:

Minott calls the stake-driver '*belcher-squelcher*.' Says he has seen them when making the noise. They go *slug-toot, slug-toot, slug-toot*.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

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CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN FOR APRIL, 1945

¶ The title of CHARLES H. HOGAN's article, 'A Yankee Comments on Texas Speech,' was supplied by the editors of *American Speech*. He writes, 'As a Missourian, I resent that "Yankee," suh!' Our apologies to Mr. Hogan. A newspaper reporter by profession, Mr. Hogan has also done numerous stints as a publicity man. He is at present working in the Kansas City bureau of the Associated Press. ¶ J. WILLIAM FREY has previously published two articles on Pennsylvania German (or 'Pennsylvania Dutch,' as he insists on calling it) in *American Speech*, in our issues of April, 1942, and April, 1943. ¶ J. H. NEUMANN, Associate Professor of English in Brooklyn College, has published elsewhere a number of articles on the English language. His note on 'Poe's Contributions to English' appeared in our 'Miscellany' section for February, 1943. ¶ M. M. MATHEWS, of the University of Chicago Press, continues in this issue his discussion of 'The New Element in American English,' the first installment of which appeared in *American Speech* for October, 1944. ¶ ERNEST S. CLIFTON, a native of South Carolina and educated at the University of Virginia and Louisiana State University, has been Assistant Professor of English at the North Texas State Teachers College since 1939. He is the co-author of an exercise book, *English Fundamentals*, and the author of several articles on Chaucer. ¶ We are also happy to present in this issue a further collection of comments on American English by STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

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